

HOME NEWS

Parents should pay for damage by school hooligans, heads say

From Diana Geddes
Education Correspondent
Southport

Parents should be made responsible for any injury or damage caused by school hooligans, the National Association of Head Teachers decided at its annual conference, at Southport, yesterday.

The association, whose 19,000 members represent two thirds of all head teachers in state secondary and primary schools, also called for severer punishments for young offenders and for the lowering of the age of criminal responsibility.

Mr Terence Delahunty, of Long Lane Junior School, Warrington, said that in the early formative years children should not grow up thinking that they had nothing to fear from the law.

Mr David Robertson, of Penketh City Junior School, Warrington, said repairs in schools in Manchester, Birmingham, Cheshire, Lancashire and Cleveland cost £775,000 last year. That was equivalent to providing 286 new teaching posts. Only £220 had been recovered.

If children under 10 were not to be considered responsible for their criminal misdeeds, then parents should be held more severely punished.

The association decided to leave vague the wording of the motion proposing that violent young offenders should be more severely punished.

It also called for a national assessment scheme at the age of five for all children.

Proposing the motion, Mr A. Macmillan, of Hill Green School, Birmingham, said it was essential to identify lack of development early and to give infants' schools the resources to overcome difficulties.

In his local authority area there were screening procedures for six-year-olds in all schools. That enabled the

authority to take appropriate action.

Mrs Janne Leake, of Four Dwellings Junior School, Birmingham, seconding the motion, said her main concern in wanting tests for children at five was to provide definite information for the public to evaluate pupils and teachers more fairly.

Mrs Leake said one had only to walk into a reception class to find children with no or often very limited speech, because nobody ever talked to them, or read stories or nursery rhymes to them.

One would also find, Mrs Leake said, children unable to eat solid food because they had been fed on baby foods, and there were rare cases of children unable to walk because they had been kept in cots.

There were also children made aggressive through isolation and lack of social training, who were unable to play because their constructive skills were still dormant.

Mr Geoffrey Lawes, of Weald School, Billingshurst, Sussex, said that any attempt to remove responsibility for curricula from teachers to school managers, county councilors, the Confederation of British Industry, or the Department of Education and Science would silt the enterprise in schools. "We are the best and most impartial judges," he said.

With one vote against, the conference passed a motion, proposed by Mr Lawes, welcoming discussion with representative groups in society, but affirming that "the responsibility for the curriculum should be retained by the head teachers in consultation with their staff."

Differentials "eroded": In a debate on pay, the conference passed an executive resolution deploring the erosion of differentials caused by government policy on inflation (the Press Association reports). It called for restoration of differentials.

Lecturers plan to increase opposition to education cuts

From Sue Reid, of The Times
Higher Education Supplement
Harrogate

A warning of strengthened and consolidated action next autumn by polytechnic and college lecturers against proposed education spending cuts was given yesterday by Mr Tom Driver, general secretary of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, which has 70,000 members.

Speaking at the union's annual conference at Harrogate, he predicted that unless an effective campaign was launched right across education the Government's proposals would severely damage provision at all levels.

The 400 delegates had earlier declared opposition to education and social services cuts, and instructed the union's executive to step up the campaign of opposition.

A call for a public sector union alliance to include the National Union of Teachers, which has 260,000 members, and local government employees to present a united front nationally and locally against the cuts also succeeded.

The conference declared its opposition to the size of the cuts in teacher training pro-

vision after Mr Driver had appealed for recognition that some rationalization was necessary.

A motion seeking the union's affiliation to the national abortion campaign was lost by a small majority, despite demands for the move from women delegates in the union's London board members. But there was support for informal links with organizations campaigning to expand and maintain abortion rights and facilities.

Miss Sandy Grant, an Inner London delegate, told the conference that legislation on sex discrimination and equal pay was inadequate. She successfully sought a continued campaign to end inadequacies in the provision of equal opportunities in further and higher education.

"The conference should be in no doubt about the long-term rights of women. The Government requires educating about this issue and the key to equal rights lies in cooperation among teachers."

Earlier delegates had defied the union's executive by demanding the removal of restrictions on free collective bargaining, and underlining their opposition to the present concept of the social contract.

Planning official to get job back

From Christopher Walker
Letterkenny

An industrial tribunal in Glasgow yesterday ruled that Mr Peter Laxton, aged 28, a planning department employee, was unfairly dismissed after writing to a local newspaper criticising plans for redevelopment of his town centre.

Mr Laxton, who was dismissed after his reinstatement, rebooked Kilmarnock and Loudoun District Council, Strathclyde, for attempting to muzzle Mr Laxton, and ordered him to be paid £1,074 compensation, less social security and unemployment payments of £335.

Mr R. A. Bennett, QC, chairman of the tribunal, said that Mr Laxton's letter to the *Kilmarnock Standard*, urging members of the council to reject the planning application for phase two of the Kilmarnock central area redevelopment, did not constitute a breach of confidence, as maintained by a council official at the hearing.

Mr Peter Eager, director of administration for the council, said two other employees who had signed the letter were also dismissed but were reinstated later.

Mr James Barclay-Gall, director of the council's physical planning and technical services, was asked by Mr Bennett: "You are really saying that employees... are gagged except in so far as your team agrees that a certain view should be put forward?" He replied: "Yes. Perhaps I would not phrase it that way myself, but, yes."

Mr Laxton's letter to the newspaper had said that the developer proposed to build a row of cheap boxes in a residential area, and that, without a new type of reprocessing plant at Windscale, Cumbria.

The most important is the arrangement to take large amounts of fuel from Japanese power stations, which led to an allegation of making Britain the nuclear dustbin of the world.

Yet agreement between the Japanese power companies and British Nuclear Fuels, which reached some time ago, for six months the fuel company has been waiting only for government permission on a Cabinet decision to sign the contract.

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At the heart of the matter is the ultimate fate of plutonium reached during the negotiations. Under contracts with overseas countries made by British Nuclear Fuels, that material belongs to the customer.

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Poll contest in wild and rugged Irish countryside is most significant from British point of view

Two outstanding candidates in Donegal

From Christopher Walker
Letterkenny

Of all the contests taking place in individual Irish constituencies during the general election, the most significant from the British point of view is being fought amid the wild and rugged countryside of Donegal, the most northerly county in the island of Ireland.

Among many candidates for the five seats allocated, the two most outstanding represent the opposite extremes of the Irish political approach to the continuing Ulster crisis.

On one side is Mr Neil Blaney, founder and leader of the Independent Fianna Fail Republic, and on the other a local auctioneer, Mr Paddy Harte, a Fine Gael deputy, whose tireless work for cross-border cooperation is described as "the occupation forces in the six counties".

Mr Blaney has made it clear that that part of his programme is non-negotiable if he is asked to provide support for a new Fianna Fail administration.

A man with one of the most polished individual political machines in the country, Mr Blaney is certain to win a seat for himself, but the extent of his eventual bargaining power will not be known until the results are counted.

Mr Harte is also regarded as certain to win a seat in the same constituency. He is an indication of the wide differences of attitude towards the northern issue.

As chairman of the Donegal County Council, Mr Harte has devoted most of his considerable energies to an uphill struggle to improve cooperation at all levels between local

authorities on both sides of the border. At a meeting in Dublin earlier this year he persuaded all the councils in the south to agree in principle to appoint liaison officers to link up with their opposite numbers in the north.

A personal friend of Mr Glen Barr, a former leading member of the Ulster Defence Association, Mr Harte has cheerfully pursued his campaign for cooperation in the face of considerable apathy. "I believe that it is something that is vital and has to start at a social level," he said. "Even contacts between members of trade unions and golf clubs can sow important seeds for the future."

The political presence of the border has ensured that the Ulster issue will be more to the forefront in Donegal than further south. It has also added fire to the debate about inflation, which is central to the national campaign, with the lower British prices for consumer products easily and damagingly comparable.

But however northerly its aspect, the character of the election in Donegal is essentially Irish, as a recent survey in one of Dublin's leading newspapers showed. Commenting on the chances of one of the candidates, the paper declared: "The fact that he has at least 34 consins and a holiday home in the new part of the constituency will certainly help him."

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The spent fuel is then transported in casks of steel 14 inches thick and weighing about 70 tonnes to hold a consignment of three tonnes of irradiated fuel.

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The first stage of reprocessing is removal of the canister by a remote control operation. That is followed by dissolution of the fuel in acid and then chemical separation of the residual uranium, the plutonium and the waste fission products.

Plutonium is added to the stockpile. Waste fission products are further treated: some are discharged as low-level waste to the sea, while others are kept in containers for contaminated solid wastes, and the long-lived substances are retained in liquid form in double-walled stainless steel tanks underground. The tanks are cooled continuously by coils containing a flow of cold water.

Oxide fuels are to be dealt with by a similar process. In practice there are greater technical difficulties in processing this form of material. Reactors with enriched uranium release about six times more energy from one tonne of fuel than the Magnox reactor with natural uranium. The fuel is clad in Zircaloy or stainless steel to withstand higher operating temperatures.

There is a penalty for using this so-called "higher burn-up fuel". The irradiated fuel elements become more difficult to handle during reprocessing, and constitute a radioactive waste.

Next: Radioactive waste and that is reflected in the technical troubles the afflicted efforts in countries to establish commercial-scale oxide reprocessing plant.

To obtain experience in reprocessing, the British Atomic Energy Authority has set up a small plant in association with a Magnox reprocessing called the Head End.

After 100 tonnes of oxide had passed through the End plant there was a seepage of material, causing a blow-back produced by undetected build-up of plutonium-106.

Levels of contamination were very low but involved workers. Reprocessing stopped until modifications were made. It will then be able to reprocess 400 tonnes a year, or to keep pace with the oxide fuel coming from main's own advanced gas reactors.

However, a very modern programme of new nuclear stations over the next years by the generating of the United Kingdom soon absorb the capacity for its Windscale development. It depends on the supply of uranium available to a nuclear country, and the term plans for plutonium next generation breeder reactors. Many are under development, but Britain is looking to reprocess energy savings.

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Free vote 'proof of loyalty' authority in Cabinet

By George Clark
Political Correspondent

Mr Callaghan's decision to allow senior ministers freedom to abstain or vote against the Government's Bill on direct elections to the European Parliament was further evidence that he had lost authority over his Cabinet, Mr John Davies, opposition spokesman on foreign and Commonwealth affairs, said yesterday.

The Prime Minister wants to be able to report to the European summit meeting in London on June 23 that he has kept his pledge to the European leaders "to use his best endeavours" to get the legislation on direct elections through Parliament.

He will have to rely on the votes of the Conservatives and the Liberals, with the votes of pro-European Labour MPs and ministers, to carry the Bill on second reading.

"If senior ministers are to vote which way they like on direct elections to Europe, it will be one more proof that the Prime Minister has been stripped of authority over his Cabinet," Mr Davies said.

The Bill has been delayed for several months because of disagreements in the Cabinet which reflect the split in the Labour Party outside Westminster. There is now a big demand from left-wingers for the party to change its attitude to EEC membership.

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Fear of Britain's becoming nuclear dustbin of world

By Pearce Wright
Science Editor

Contracts worth £600m from overseas customers are in the balance until a decision is reached over plans to build a new type of reprocessing plant at Windscale, Cumbria.

The most important is the arrangement to take large amounts of fuel from Japanese power stations, which led to an allegation of making Britain the nuclear dustbin of the world.

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VER JUBILEE

Birmingham hopes to keep alive the street party spirit with committees for community care

By Osman and Parker

Thousands of street parties arranged to celebrate the jubilee throughout Britain start yesterday in some and will be followed in many others today.

In West Midlands an effort will be made to keep the community spirit the same. Mrs Freda Lord Mayor of Birmingham called a conference of 18 to which jubilee committees are invited to send delegates.

is anxious to see the jubilee remain in being to a permanent focus for the city in each street. They will be able to aged and disabled and vandalism.

would be a shame if all work in breaking barriers between neighbours and the creating of a city spirit were to be soon as the celebration she said. The establishment of "jubilee streets" be a permanent and file memorial to the 25 years' reign.

Mrs Cocks will spend hours touring dozens of celebrations, Birmingham's jubilee which has replaced the May Day festival.

forty or so babies born city today. The Mayor presented an engraved silver mug presented at a party for

them and their parents later in the year, although Mrs Cocks will see some of the arrivals when she tours three maternity hospitals today.

At Lichfield, Staffordshire, every child and members of every on the roll of Christ Church School today will receive a ceramic medallion made by Thelma Leach, a local potter. Only 400 have been produced and the mould will be destroyed to ensure that the medallions keep their rarity value.

Two large banners from Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee and the coronation of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra have been found in perfect condition at Fazeley, Staffordshire, and will help to decorate today's celebrations. They were discovered in the clock tower of the town hall.

The centre of Manchester yesterday was grim and grey, with almost deserted streets and no official decorations. Only a few brave, but damp, Union Jacks could be seen flying defiantly.

The council decided not to spend money on city centre decorations, and large areas of the conurbation bear no visible signs of celebration, although there are some notable exceptions.

It is not because the area is less than loyal to the Crown. It is simply, according to Mr Thomas Leatherbarrow, the city's public relations officer, a case of the Government's advice not to spend too

much in view of the general economic state of the country.

In addition Manchester is saving its energies for the Queen's visit on June 20, and for September, when the centenary of the building of Manchester Town Hall is to be held, along with the first lord mayor's parade to be held.

In Moss Side and Hulme, areas that have been redeveloped with huge blocks of flats, it is a rare sight to see a flag or picture of the Queen. The older, more familiar streets of terraced housing, on the other hand, seem to be much more involved in celebrations.

In Blackburn, Lancashire, the large Asian community, about a tenth of the population, is involved more than expected with jubilee celebrations. Mr Leonard Pross, the community relations officer, said it was encouraging to see Asians taking part in the organization of multicultural street parties in places such as Brookhouse.

Warrington has dozens of street parties organized for today. So have Rochdale, Oldham, Leigh, and other towns and communities on the periphery of the Greater Manchester conurbation.

Some street parties organized for yesterday had to be called off because of the rain. Liverpool, like Manchester, is saving most of its celebrations for the Queen's visit on June 21, although hundreds of street parties have been organized for today.

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Jubilee soaking: Waves, whipped up by high wind, lashing the banks as a rescue boat makes for a yacht that capsized yesterday during the Jack Holt jubilee regatta at Queen Mary's Reservoir, near Staines, Surrey. Many of the 80 entrants in the event found it impossible to start and few of the starters were able to finish as the wind gusts to force eight.

A ton of orders for the Fleet review

A ton and a quarter of paper has been used in issuing naval orders to the 170 ships taking part in the jubilee review at Spithead on June 28. Although most of the ships to be reviewed by the Queen on board the royal yacht Britannia are from the Royal Navy, the largest and smallest ships she will see are both civilian. They are the British Respect, a

270,000-ton BP tanker, which has travelled 250,000 miles in the past three years carrying 2,500,000 tons of crude oil, and an inflatable rubber inshore rescue craft of the Royal National Life-boat Institution. About a hundred Royal Navy ships will be involved, together with auxiliary service vessels and 20 foreign and Commonwealth ships.

The United States is sending a nuclear-powered cruiser, the California, and an atomic-powered submarine, the Blüfish. About thirty vessels of various British maritime organizations have also been invited. The Elder Brethren of Trinity House, in the Pacific, will exercise their traditional right of leading the Sovereign through the review lines.

Doctors in 15 lands gave sight to 113,714

By a Staff Reporter

For more than a hundred thousand people of the Commonwealth today is especially joyous. Each was blind but now, thanks to the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind, who made a special effort during the past year to mark the jubilee, all 113,714 can see again.

The achievement is announced to mark the work of the society and the Queen's jubilee day. She is patron of the society and has congratulated it and its associated organizations throughout the Commonwealth.

In 15 Commonwealth countries of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean medical teams examined 1,290,780 people and treated 842,971 for eye defects. They performed 28,412 operations to prevent imminent blindness and restored sight to the 113,714, a number equal to all the blind in England and Wales.

In the Indian subcontinent schools, community centres and tents were turned into improvised hospitals. In villages and townships people opened their homes to provide temporary wards and voluntary help. Local eye surgeons worked round the clock, often each performing more than 100 cataract operations a day. One project was supported by Rotary clubs in the United Kingdom.

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Stoic beacon-builders title with weather

Donald Faur

It is not the weather for jubilee beacons in the last night. A deep ion trailed a blanket of cloud and heavy rain the breath of the

as stoic log-bearers on 25 prominent landmarks in appalling meteorological station at the Castle, in Fife, had news for the thousands of visitors who telephoned, "either is wretched", an old time. The reason well marked depression on Stranraer and head for Greta Green, leaving all of squalls, downed strong winds.

of the beacons were on exposed sites in the north. The first in the east and central Scotland on Dun Righ Hill, near the second on Seald the Pevlans, and the third's Seat, above Edinburgh the chain continuing

don

Street revellers brave the rain and bitter wind

By Berthoud

is, by common consent, the weather for street "Perishing cold" was a that sprang to some "More like Christmas jubilee" was another thought the two days of celebrations got very in London streets

Yards of streets had been to traffic. Yesterday d bunting strained at morning in bitter winds. s were out, and there went daves for cover rs came and went. , primarily, an occasion dren with some adult n the evenings. Sand- could be produced from ies of helpers only at rowed tables, in case ng blew away. Record had to taken indoors ayed from windows of the rain. But the at least did not seem e the strained element safety.

ton Gardens, in South-orth London, provided etypal suburban setting such brave gathering- stone's throw from the ircular and from the ilway line from King's proud to be British" child's drawing in one inside number 32 Mrs Macmillan, thirty, and competent, was super- ho tea arrangements. le, red roses beat against the leaded

window panes as Stewart Wallace, a red-headed social worker organized "It's a Knockout" type games with a megaphone for four dozen delighted children. Bunting, balloons and coloured electric lights strung up by Robert McLellan, a local electrician, threatened to take off in the wind. After tea at grassie tables, the Dave Meadows band arrived.

A sound working rule yesterday in London was: "The weather the street, the less likely it is to have a party." Was it because these are lead privileged lives with interesting jobs and money have less need for royal pageantry and jubilee parties? Certainly the more elegant streets of Hampstead were devoid of Union Jacks, and many of their inhabitants had fled to their country cottages.

But NW3 was not wholly dead. In Primrose Gardens, which have not yet come up, about fifty children were huddled together under a copper beech, eating sandwiches and playing games. One parent was greatly delighted by the gathering Mrs Judy Thompson, from Melbourne, Australia, with her two children and husband, said: "The children love the street activities in this square."

It was pleasant to think that, despite the cold, some of the warmth of a London community had reached the heart of a visitor and that the jubilee spirit had here, as in many streets, made a contribution to neighbourliness.

Where in London will you find Shakespeare's country?

Little more than a stone's throw above Oxford Street, there is a place where Shakespeare himself would have felt quite at home.

A bustling, happy place, full of merriment and rejoicing, where each day strolling players perform in the village square. And tradesmen gather to display the finest wares in all of England.

The name of this place is Shakespeare's Country. And you'll find it high above London's busy streets, spread over half an acre or so of Selfridges fourth floor.

From a distance Shakespeare's Country seems little more than a pretty cluster of half timbered houses, small shops and spreading chestnut trees.

But having entered this Elizabethan hamlet, you soon find yourself in a colourful market square, bursting with activity and displaying every kind of ware imaginable. Across the square, not twenty yards of ale away, you can see the inviting outline of an olde inn. But we'll look into that later!

First, if the time is right, make your way to the centre of the hamlet, where everyday between 11.30 and 2.30 p.m. a small troupe of players entertain the crowd.

The Jubilee Players, as they are known, are as lively a troupe as you're ever likely to see. Their act is a medley of happy scenes and

sing-a-long sonnets. There are few tragedies in Shakespeare's Country.

So why not stop a while and enjoy the free show. After the performance, you'll probably feel it's time you played your own part in this merry assembly.

And what better place to do just that than the olde inn, where you're certain to find a warm welcome. 'The Elizabethan' Inn is a fine olde place.

A Charrington's house, that's as famous for its real ale as the jovial company it keeps.

There you will learn that the reason for this great and wonderful

gathering is the celebration of our noble Queen's Jubilee. So drink to that and whatever else takes your fancy.

From the courtyard of the Inn, you'll be able to look out on most of the market activity. Displays of beautiful

Wedgwood and Royal Doulton china. Stalls that sell finely crafted leatherware

and pottery. Shops with luxurious sheepskins. Tartans from north of the border. A bookshop. A souvenir shop. And even an olde English foodstore.

So, having soaked up the atmosphere, why not wander around and see what you can find. All in all, we think you'll



agree that Shakespeare's Country is well worth a visit. If only to celebrate the Jubilee of our beloved Queen, and ponder for a while on this Elizabethan hamlet in the middle of London, that time must inevitably change.

It closes at the end of the summer.

Selfridges

FOURTH FLOOR



SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY AT SELFRIDGES, 400 OXFORD STREET, LONDON W1. TELEPHONE 01-629 1234

Royal signposts marking the nation's long history

Modern idea set in reign of George III

The modern jubilee was inaugurated in 1809 for the fiftieth anniversary of George III's accession. It was a British institution, whose rules and guidelines were established in the columns of *The Times*, already the tribal newsletter of the ruling class. From there it has been widely adopted around the world. It is instructive and amusing to read the evolution of the modern jubilee in the dusty back numbers of *The Times*.

In 1809 the Napoleonic crisis was at its height. The King was fading in health. But he was more popular and respected than in 1785, and people were alarmed by the prospect of the succession of the Prince of Wales. The idea of the modern jubilee was proposed by an anonymous letter in *The Times* signed "Jubal", proposing an Act of Grace, and citing with much erudition the authority of Scripture and the practice of all ages.

The idea caught on in a remarkable way. There were bitter debates in the City of London and the correspondence columns of *The Times* about whether the money raised should be spent on a dinner and illuminations or on the relief of debtors. *The Times* published a whole column of Latin hexameters and Sapphics "written by a youth" in praise of the monarch. A translation of a stanza of Sapphics gives the flavour: "O George, our hope and fond delight, For thee 'gainst each extreme we'll fight, For thee we'll suffer all." *The Times* has decided, reluctantly, to spare its readers Latin verse for this jubilee. In 1809 we listed daily dozens of jubilee sermons and their texts from all over the country: item, at St. Mary's, Whitechapel, the Rector preached on 24 Proverbs 21: "My son, fear thou the Lord, and the King; and meddle not with them that are given to change." There was a heated correspondence alleging that the jubilee was nothing but a party political manoeuvre, designed to divert attention from the incompetence of the Ministry and the shame of the Walcheren Expedition, which had just added £20m to the National Debt, and had covered so many families with mourning. It was said, in what was to remain a common theme of jubilees, that the general wish was that a more efficient administration might aid His Majesty in sustaining the burden and cares of Government.

It was proposed that each county should raise subscriptions for "ladies of faded charm and fortune". The King entered into the spirit of the occasion, freed all Crown debtors, pardoned deserters, issued special food to the Services, allowed all prisoners of war on parole to go home, except for the French, and negotiated "a cartel" with France for the exchange of aged and infirm POWs. There were widespread thanksgivings, feasts, illuminations, and oratorios to the music of brass bands, which were to become indispensable rituals of future jubilees. A prodigious quantity of strong beer was consumed. The allowance for jubilee day was two quarts for a man, one quart for a woman, and half a pint for a child. "Grieved though not utterly dispirited by the



FADING IN HEALTH BUT POPULAR AND RESPECTED

gloomy aspects of affairs abroad, and sick of official dissensions and cabals, the people of Great Britain heartily concurred in a public testimony of affection to their venerable monarch." On the day after the jubilee *The Times* thundered its loyal jubilation:

The happy event of a British Monarch's entrance into the fiftieth year of his reign, an event which has occurred but twice before in the long and splendid history of this country, was celebrated by all ranks of people in this great metropolis, in a manner worthy of an aged and venerable King, and a loyal and enlightened Nation. The day was one of the finest imaginable for the present season of the year, and favoured the public expressions of satisfaction in the highest degree. The celebration was announced by the pealing of bells, the hoisting of flags, and the assembling of the various bodies of regular troops, and the different corps of volunteers, throughout the town.

The forenoon was dedicated to public worship and the acknowledgment of the Divine Providence (exemplified in the protection of his Majesty's person, and of the many national blessings almost exclusively enjoyed by the inhabitants of the united Kingdom) in every parish church and chapel; and we add with pleasure, that among the various classes of Dissenters of all persuasions, we have heard of no exception to the general loyalty and piety of the day. Indeed, we sincerely believe, that the blessings of toleration are too deeply felt, and the advantages of the British Constitution too generally acknowledged, to give room for any material difference of opinion in any respectable portion of society. The cathedral, the abbey, the parochial church, the meeting-house of the Dissenter, the chapel of the Methodist and the Catholic, and the synagogue of the Israelite, were alike opened for this interesting occasion. All French persons of distinction in London assisted at a grand mass.

All the shops were closed. The Lord Mayor and the whole civic body went in procession to St. Paul's; and it was truly gratifying, amid the multitudes in the streets, to see the children of our innumerable Charitable Institutions, walking to their respective places of Divine Worship. Piety and charity must ever go hand in hand, and for this reason we are well pleased with the celebration of an event, which is the cause of general and national hospitality and benevolence. This is, in fact, the true nature, the best blessing, and the nearest resemblance to the origin and ancient practice of a Jubilee. The annals of no nation, we fondly believe, when the accounts reach us from different parts of

the Empire, will be found to have exhibited greater marks of the best virtues that enrich the human heart.

The debtor has been set free; the hungry have been fed; and the naked, in many instances, have been clothed. In all such cases, vanity and fashion may have led many to acts of generosity; but we should not be over-scrupulous in our enquiries into the motives of conferring general benefit, and producing happiness to thousands, though it be but for a day. We are satisfied, that to the general character of our countrymen and countrywomen, no such suspicion ever attaches; and that the blessing of "him that has none to help him", will fall upon no small number. Such an union of piety and charity, while it is a comfort to ourselves individually, brings out, and makes a happy exposition to Europe and the world, of the national character of Britons; and thus combining moral and political good, is, we believe, in a word, "that righteousness which exalteth a nation".

At one o'clock, the Tower guns fired, and the Guards assembled on the parade in St. James's Park, and fired a feu de joie in honour of the event. After church hours, the streets were crowded with the population of the metropolis, in decent or in lively attire; every house pouring forth its inhabitants: the number of well-dressed persons, and the display of the genuine beauty of a great majority of the sex who do not constantly shine at "midnight dances, and the public shew", hitherto this celebration brought into public view, exceeded any former example. Most of them wore ribbons of garter blue, and many wore medals with the profile of the King. The magnificent preparations for the evening were the general objects of notice, which, the serenity of such a day, as October does not often see, gave them full opportunity of observing, while the Volunteer Corps, returning from their respective parades, enlivened the scene with a martial as well as a patriotic and a festive feature.

As the evening approached, the Corporation of London and various other bodies were hastening to the Mansion-house, and to their different halls, taverns, and other places of meeting, to celebrate in a more mirthful way, the 50th year of the reign of a British King. At the Mansion-house, the Corporation set down to a dinner, provided by the Chief Magistrate of the City, the Merchants and Bankers met at Merchant Taylors' Hall; and many of the chief Companies of London, at their halls; and numerous other parties, at various places of public or private entertainment. Daylight was scarcely gone, when the full blaze burst forth upon the eye in all the skill of art, and in all the radiant splendour and varied magnificence of the general illumination of the British capital. Hands could hardly be prodded to light the innumerable lamps, and therefore the illuminating of most of the public edifices commenced as early as two o'clock in the afternoon. All the other customary demonstrations of popular satisfaction were abundantly exhibited, with, perhaps, some little of the awkward, though, we trust, honest consciousness with which common people express their homely but sincere participation of the festivities in which all were called upon to share and to unite.

Those who recollect similar displays after the recovery of the Monarch's health, and the several naval victories, require no description. Those who have not witnessed such a sight may find some gratification in the perusal of the details which we have subjoined.

The Bachelors of Windsor roasted an ox and two sheep watched by the Queen and the Royal Dukes and other illustrious visitors with initial eagerness; the Bank of England was lit up in all its extraneous ballustrades and arches; at Cardiff debtors were released from prison, but not before they had been gorged on roast beef and plum pudding. In 1909 a legacy of precedent and practice was established for the proper way to celebrate a royal jubilee.

The reluctant monarch who relented

Only 78 years separated George III's jubilee from the next such occasion, Victoria's golden jubilee to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of her accession. But those 78 years had swollen Great Britain's power, place in the world, and self-importance beyond recognition. The industrial revolution had made Britain the workshop of the world; military victory and imperial expansion had made her the greatest power in the world, governing or controlling three quarters of the globe. This jubilee was no longer a domestic affair, with the principal excitement generated over whether there should be big dinners or relief of debtors, but an imperial triumph on a Roman scale.

Once again a letter to *The Times* stimulated the government and people into celebrating a jubilee. In 1885 Baron Bray of Leicester pointed out to the editor and his readers that on June 20, 1886, the Queen would be entering upon her fiftieth year. He proposed that plans should be made to celebrate this "year of jubilee". The proposal was taken up eagerly by everybody except the Queen herself, who dreaded an orgy of "hustle and bustle". She obstinately refused to dress up in crown and robes of State, in spite of the protests of the politicians and her family. As a last resort the Princess of Wales, her favourite daughter-in-law, was sent in to make her change her mind, and came out in a hurry: "I was never so snubbed," Lord Rosebery observed in his sarcastic way that the empire should be ruled by a sceptre, not a bonnet. Nevertheless, it was in a bonnet that Victoria drove to Westminster Abbey for the thanksgiving service, and the printed instructions directed "Ladies in Bonnets and Long High Dresses without Mantel".

The procession there included 32 princes of the Queen's own blood. The Queen agreed with the general impression that the most splendid was dear Fritz, the Crown Prince of Germany, a Lohengrin with a golden beard clothed in white and silver cuirassier's uniform and with a German eagle on his helmet. *The Times* went to town with floral borders, and twenty columns devoted to reporting the carriage processions alone: "Her white bonnet, a tribute to the exultant joy of her subjects, was regarded as a sign of especial goodwill, and she began her magnificent progress in the midst of a burst of loyal cheers which became the continuous accompaniment of her route through the principal streets of the capital to the venerable Abbey which is the historic scene of royal ceremonies."

The Times leaders too did something more than justice to the occasion. On June 21 we published an editorial of jubilee retrospect no less than 12 columns long. But tucked away in the pages of newspaper series from trying to describe them in detail, in fact the most original idea for the jubilee came from the Prince of Wales, who suggested that "no more suitable memorial could be suggested than an Institute that should represent the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of the Queen's Colonies and Indian Empire".

As usual for this second jubilee the bonfires and beacons, the ox-roasting and feasting, beggared description; though that did not inhibit the mendacity of the newspaper series from trying to describe them in detail. In fact the most original idea for the jubilee came from the Prince of Wales, who suggested that "no more suitable memorial could be suggested than an Institute that should represent the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of the Queen's Colonies and Indian Empire".



OBSTINATELY REFUSED TO DRESS UP

The Imperial Institute became the focal point of the jubilee of Great Britain and the Empire. Other jubilee projects, perhaps fortunately, failed to get off the drawing-board. A Jubilee Tower 440 feet high was planned for Oxford Street, but it did not get beyond a contractor and managing director. On the night of Jubilee Day Victoria wrote with characteristic sadness: "I sit alone (oh! without my beloved husband, for whom this would have been such a proud day!)"

Ten years later the Queen was still on the throne, and her people and Government had developed a taste for jubilees. So she was put through it all again. People started talking about the diamond jubilee, by analogy from golden and then diamond wedding anniversaries. On New Year's Day 1897 *The Times* gave the new phrase its imprimatur in a leader: "Whatever fortune the year may bring to the British Empire, it will remain ever memorable in our annals as that of the solemn celebration of the 'Diamond Jubilee' of Queen Victoria if, as we trust, HER MAJESTY is spared to the editor: 'The thanks of the community are due to you for the solution to a question which has been exercising the minds of all loyal subjects, i.e. the choice of a short, apt, and descriptive title for the coming second jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen. It was obviously necessary to make a clear distinction between the two historical celebrations destined to be talked of and written about for many generations to come; and doubtless henceforth 1897 will be known as the Queen's Golden, and 1897 as the Queen's Diamond Jubilee year. How right she was!'"

The Home Secretary thought that Diamond Jubilee was too common a phrase, and suggested that the Queen would prefer the "Queen's Commemoration", the "Queen's Year", or even "The Jubilee". Victoria's Prime Secretary, Sir Arthur Bigney, replied that he doubted whether the last suggestion would catch on. In any case, he said that the Queen already "fancied" the popular name.

In spite of its imperial overtones, the golden jubilee had been in some respects a family occasion of thanksgiving for the thinner and less amorous Victoria. The jubilee was more political and more commercial. It was actually called "the Jubilee of Empire", and politicians made capital out of the celebrations and took credit for the achievements of the past 60 years. So did the commercial firms. *The Times* printed, in addition to the jubilee picture of the venerable monarch, several full page advertisements, such as the one for Pears Soap, which declared with some complacency that it would be its own Koh-i-Noor Diamond (Double Diamond or 120 years) Jubilee in 1909. The Queen restricted official celebrations to the great day itself to a procession through London, pausing at the steps of St. Paul's for the briefest of services.

The Times felt no such restrictions. On the Monday it published one of its jubilee special leaders:

The Thanksgiving Service of yesterday formed a fitting prelude to the great

national solemnity of tomorrow. In part of the Empire, in all lands its borders where our countrymen gathered together, as well as from those who are allied to us neither by blood nor by a common allegiance, heartfelt thanks ascended to Heaven for the prolonging of a reign which has brought man blessings not before the British Empire only, but upon the whole race of man. It is no exaggeration to say that this lofty standard of public duty developed in these islands during the last years, and due in no small degree to personal influence of the very SOVEREIGN whose portrait we publish a memorial of this unique occasion leavened the thought of the whole world.

There were special articles in all papers entitled "The Queen's Reign". *The Times*, however, keeping cool, published a piece on "The We Longest Reigns", showing that Ferdinand, of Persia, had put Q. Victoria in the shade by occupying Peacock Throne for 500 years.

On June 22 Victoria made her progress through London, the honour of all jubilee processions. *Times* reported:

That great day of national and Imperial rejoicing upon which the hopes of all have been fixed for many weeks and months has come and gone with triumphant success. It had been anticipated and but not without anxiety in all our Majesty's dominions. There reason for some anxiety on account of strain which participation in a prolonged and splendid pageant must place the gracious lady and matchless Queen who was at once the centre and cause of the ceremonial.

Londoners had spent a quarter million on street decorations. The shoe; or as *The Times* put it, "the Queen's weather". There was some touching in the confidence of a constable who announced that it is surely fine "because she is so good Queen". And fine it was.

Very shortly before the Queen's jubilee became visible within the clouds of Buckingham Palace the clouds thinned and less ominous towards the north, before she was out Jones's Park there was occasion to the glorious line—"Quadrifidus invectus equis Sol exit."

The Queen herself wrote of progress: "No one ever, I believe, has with such an ovation as was given passing through those six miles of S. The crowds were quite indescribable their enthusiasm truly marvellous deeply touching. Their cheering was deafening, and every face seemed filled with real joy."

To the Victoria, the diamond jubilee represented a high point of E. They seemed to have come home 60 years of stormy seas into safe harbour. But there is no permanent harbour ceaseless rush of human affairs, all it makes the tide of events more conceivable and less frightening to a managed in the ways of freedom.

By nature downright the Ki-bonationality very patient has never been (as some other have been) too clever to be wise the Bourbons, he never forgots; them, he is always learning. He has been above asking advice, nor talking it when it was sound; and impartiality, a quality which has commanded confidence and respect from old and tried servants (Lord Stamfordham, for instance) whose devotion he had won staunch trust, or from less counsellors, whose mouths were by his matchless gift for putting their ease. No examples need quoted of all the occasions on the right course or spoken the word, from the first troubled his reign through the greatest it has ever befallen the nation. O needs now to be said of the W. if ever a people had cause to God for a steady, brave, sensible Britain had cause in those da. For twenty-five years the person a good man has more and more the office that he fills. But never as he wears the Crown, and more than today, is he man and noth by the law of the Constitution h the sole link that holds together Imperial nations whose have assembled about him at He is more, and other, than the in person, the Imperial Majesty in person, the unity and the c of the British Empire. He is and the symbol of our nation Imperial being. Today, when for the King, we pray not only father and friend. We pray Empire, that it may go forward in the ways of freedom.

The jubilee of 1935 was on interlude in the rush of even last opportunity for thanksgiving ten months the country and Em mourning, the death of their I were marching ever closer a deeply down the primrose another great war.

A King seen as father of his people

In the week beginning May 6, 1935, Victoria's grandson celebrated the first silver jubilee in British history. Victoria's two jubilees had been celebrations of the high tide of Empire, and gratuitous thanksgivings for the march of the nation. George V's jubilee came as a brief interval in the music of time between world wars, economic depression, and fundamental social upheaval.

There were doubts and criticism of the decision to hold a jubilee, both because of the extravagance at a time of national impoverishment, and also because of the supposed political effect so near to a general election. It was felt that it would benefit the Conservatives by making the voters content with the status quo. In fact, contrary to some predictions, the silver jubilee was an immense popular success. *The Times* pointed out that the most patriotic feeling had been shown in the worst slums; and a banner saying "Lousy but Loyal" was widely quoted. All witnesses agree that there was a remarkable and spontaneous outburst of popular affection for the modest, decent father figure, who had not fully recovered from his illness, and who had made himself a model of constitutional rectitude, and wanted social justice more than most of the ruling class.

Another factor in the phenomenon of May, 1935, was the King's broadcasts by the new fangled wireless. The intimate and paternal dark chocolate voice coming out of a box in the living rooms of the nation had transformed the distant hierophant into a father of his people. A letter in *The Times* on Jubilee Day itself captured the prevalent feeling of temporary port after stormy seas:

During their (King George and Queen Mary's) reign we have come through the appalling stress and tragedy of the War years and those disruptive post-war times in which we have seen Monarchies and institutions destroyed and personal liberty

obliterated in many parts of a world which is seething with unrest and uncertainty. Today we stand, a little chastened perhaps, but rejoicing in the fact that our Monarchy and institutions survive, and in the certainty that nowhere in the world today is the lot of the individual happier or safer than in those countries which make up the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The silver jubilee followed the precedents and traditions for celebrating jubilees that had been established in the previous century, though the proceedings lasted longer, and there were no less than four official and two unofficial royal drives through London. Hecatombs of oxen were roasted around the country in the traditional jubilee holocaust of meat burnt on the outside and raw inside. The weather was glorious: King's weather as it had been called Queen's weather for Victoria.

On Monday King and Queen drove to a thanksgiving service at St. Paul's. The man from *The Times*, making the point that he had been up early for the notice of his News Editor, reported: Buckingham Palace was the centre of an Empire's waking thoughts. Many hours had to go by before the gates would open and the King and Queen pass on their way, but dawn, when it broke, found ardent citizens awaiting the Royal progress. Humble folk stood in clusters near the Palace rails. Every point of vantage within sight of the Palace was eagerly sought and quickly seized. The people waited. In these early hours of the morning they were an earnest throng, not without pride that their place in this central event of the jubilee was so near to Buckingham Palace, surely at that time the very heart of the Empire. The King had ordered that Hyde Park was to remain open all night, and it became a vast dormitory for the crowds of trippers on day excursions from as far away as Aberdeen.

In those days, before colour television had made colour-writing a superfluous art form, *The Times* had stationed reporters outside Buckingham Palace, in Trafalgar Square, at Temple Bar, in Ludgate Circus, and at the steps of St. Paul's, with others inside the cathedral, and one roving doing a general "true holiday crowd" piece. Each wrote about 2,000 words of stately colour-prose of the sort that does not allow itself to be hampered by facts and information, and gets on with the poetic description of pigeons and little old ladies saying: "King George is the only King for whom I would come into a crowd like this."



PATERNAL DARK CHOCOLATE VOICE

Description and pictures of the procession alone filled four pages. In addition there were several other pages dealing with the service at St. Paul's, the King's wireless broadcast, celebrations at the round Empire's imagined corners, the illuminations, the fireworks, including set pieces of the King and Queen of a size never attempted before by a protechnician, the parties in restaurants, the celebrations around the rest of the kingdom, the beacons lit at a signal from a pyre in Hyde Park ignited electrically from the Palace by His Majesty's own finger on the button, and the fulsome telegram from Herr Hitler. *The Times* ran two long and stately leaders about the jubilee on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, before declining to a leader a day. *The Times* of that week in May gives the impression that it had procured a gross of golden eagle's quills for pens, and really was using Vesuvius for an inkwell.

For his part the King reported in his diary for Monday: A never to be forgotten day when we celebrated our Silver Jubilee. It was a glorious summer's day: 75 degrees in the shade. The greatest number of people in the streets that I have ever seen in my life. The enthusiasm was indeed most touching. Every night that week the King and

Queen appeared on the floodlit balcony of Buckingham Palace to a rapturous reception from the crowds that had waited outside all day. On Thursday in Westminster Hall they received addresses from both Houses of Parliament. The King wrote in his diary: *The Members sang the National Anthem and then cheered; which moved me much.* On the following day, the King, wearing his Field Marshal's uniform, and Queen Mary drove through the poorer quarters of London drawn by four greys with postillions. In the East End they were accompanied by an unofficial escort of private cars, bicycles and roller skates. The King was moved by his tumultuous receptions and the profusion of decorations, as he noted in his delightfully plain diary, all put up by the poor.

The Times, of course, reported these drives in detail; for example, a brief extract from two and a half columns on the drive to Camberwell through Southwark and the Walworth Road: *The lawlessness of the preparations and the unaffected heartiness of the reception of the King and Queen by the people were typical of districts which are traditionally untouched by suburban self-consciousness. Borough councils might line the streets with decorative standards and festoon them with factory-made streamers,*

but scarcely a home along the route or adjacent to it had been content to resign its responsibilities to its elected representatives. Families, and little street communities had been busy with sewing-machine, paint brush, and ladder to express their own feelings and make their own show. Some of the streets set at right angles to the route were more freely swarmed with flags and bunting and decorated portraits, that the wider thoroughfares could be. Great blocks of flats had most of their windows framed in patriotic colours and had plaques of the King and Queen fixed on the most prominent and apparently inaccessible parts of their tall fronts.

The King was as pleased with his subjects as they were with him. Sister Catherine Black wrote: *His pleasure at the wonderful evidence of the people's love and regard during the Jubilee was touching. I can remember him coming back from a drive through the East End, very tired but radiantly happy. "I'd no idea they felt like that about me", he said with his usual frankness. "I am beginning to think they must really like me for myself."*

The jubilee demonstrated that the King was just as much King in Whitechapel as in Whitehall, and the crowds cheered the decent British virtues that their monarch had come to exemplify and symbolise for them. And then, six pigeons were released at Murrayfield by the Duchess of York to bear greetings to Buckingham Palace from 17,000 Scottish children. As a jubilee gesture the Postmaster General reduced the cost of telegrams for the first time since the war to a new rate of 6d for nine words. There was a half-holiday at Maidstone prison. And the thousands of other, local events, gay and stately and docty, that make up a British royal jubilee, were performed.

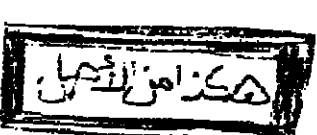
When *The Times* put on striped trousers to write an editorial for a formal occasion in those days, it wrote at a length and with a majesty too large for puny modern taste. But here is an eloquent extract from our leader on King and Country for Jubilee Day:

Through his twenty-five years of sovereignty the Throne of Britain has gained beyond measure in power and prestige. Elsewhere sceptre and crown have tumbled down, or have been politely bowed into the background. Here the monarchy is more than ever before the summit of the Constitution, and the core of the Empire. And today, at those moments when the fund-

mental solemnity of this great occasion reveals itself beneath the bright of its gaiety, the King's people will to give humble and hearty thanks through a quarter of a century, so anguished, so restless, often so tempered as this—their constant monarch has been such a man King.

By nature downright the Ki-bonationality very patient has never been (as some other have been) too clever to be wise the Bourbons, he never forgots; them, he is always learning. He has been above asking advice, nor talking it when it was sound; and impartiality, a quality which has commanded confidence and respect from old and tried servants (Lord Stamfordham, for instance) whose devotion he had won staunch trust, or from less counsellors, whose mouths were by his matchless gift for putting their ease. No examples need quoted of all the occasions on the right course or spoken the word, from the first troubled his reign through the greatest it has ever befallen the nation. O needs now to be said of the W. if ever a people had cause to God for a steady, brave, sensible Britain had cause in those da. For twenty-five years the person a good man has more and more the office that he fills. But never as he wears the Crown, and more than today, is he man and noth by the law of the Constitution h the sole link that holds together Imperial nations whose have assembled about him at He is more, and other, than the in person, the Imperial Majesty in person, the unity and the c of the British Empire. He is and the symbol of our nation Imperial being. Today, when for the King, we pray not only father and friend. We pray Empire, that it may go forward in the ways of freedom.

The jubilee of 1935 was on interlude in the rush of even last opportunity for thanksgiving ten months the country and Em mourning, the death of their I were marching ever closer a deeply down the primrose another great war.



The palaces Prince Philip calls 'the museums'

The Duke of Edinburgh, who has cultivated a talent or a foible for bluff, once said: "We live in what virtually amounts to a museum— which does not happen to a lot of people." As we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Queen's accession, it is instructive to consider the extraordinary buildings that make the Duke feel like a specimen (*Homo regalis*) in a museum. Our royal palaces and residences are some of the most historic buildings in Britain. Many are architectural glories; some are architectural jokes in bad taste.

The Queen has two principal official palaces in England, Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle, and one in Scotland, Holyroodhouse, the haunting and allegedly haunted palace of the Stuarts by Edinburgh. These great state buildings, among the most popular tourist attractions in the world, are the ones that make Prince Philip feel he is living in a display cabinet.

In addition the Queen owns two principal private houses, which look to commoners remarkably like palaces, or, if you prefer, museums: Balmoral Castle on Deeside, and Sandringham House near King's Lynn. The Queen also owns, but does not herself use, a number of smaller houses on her estates; for example Thatched House Lodge, Richmond, which she lends to the Ogilvies.

In addition there are a number of royal palaces that are used for other purposes. The Palace of Westminster is now a museum for politicians, and recently, except for a small area reserved for the Queen at the State Opening, ceased to be a royal palace at all. Hampton Court really is a museum, as well as providing Grace and Favour flats for meritorious public servants and their widows and families. Kensington Palace is the home of Princess Margaret and other members of the royal family and household, while William and Mary's staterooms, recently handsomely refurbished by the Queen and the Department of the Environment, are open to the public.

The Tower of London is the most visited museum in the kingdom. The Banqueting House, Whitehall, with its glorious Rubens ceiling, is the least visited and most underemployed public building in the kingdom. St. James's Palace, the loveliest that Henry VIII built for Anne Boleyn, is the residence of the Duke of Kent and the offices of the Lord Chamberlain and other departments of the monarchy business.

All of these, except Westminster, are still royal palaces. The Queen, for example, in theory could take up residence again in the White Tower, and every day enjoy the masterpiece of Norman ecclesiastical architecture, the Chapel Royal of St John on the second and third floors. All her ancestors until Charles II spent at least one night, the eves of their coronations, there. Several spent much of their lives and met their deaths there. In practice the Tower has too many dark memories of decapitated and imprisoned royals and too big an attraction for the tourists for it ever to become a royal residence again.

Because of its central position and size, Buckingham Palace has been the monarchy's head office and working palace for the past 150 years. But by the crazy paradox enjoyed by ancient English institutions, St James's is for some purposes still the official palace: for instance, foreign ambassadors are still formally accredited to the Court of St James, although it has been almost as a royal residence since Victoria came to the throne. Buckingham Palace takes its name from a Jacobite politician and minor poet of the seventeenth century, who built himself the finest private palace in London on the site. George III bought it as a private domestic retreat, away from the pomp of St James's, for Queen Caroline in the countryside that has since become Green Park.

There is a curious regular pattern in the evolution of royal palaces. A private palace is built as a retreat from the official palace. In time it becomes the official palace, and another private palace is built, which later still replaces it as the official palace. This happened to Whitehall, St James's, Hampton Court, Kensington and Buckingham Palace.

John Nash rebuilt Buckingham Palace at prodigious expense for George IV, that great builder-king. Nash's building formed three sides of a square, with the eastern fourth side nearest to the Mall left open. The main entrance was through the Marble Arch, a memorial to the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo. Victoria surprisingly found the large palace too small for her admitted family. So the Marble Arch was removed to its present position as traffic roundabout and symbol for a station on the Underground. And a fourth, slab-faced wing, which is the only face of the palace that is fully visible to the public, was built to complete the square. It is grandiose, ugly in its own right, and obscures Nash's far finer building.

To see Nash's wings, you either have to peer from the top of a bus going up Constitution Hill, or get yourself invited to one of the Queen's garden parties. She holds three a year in June and July, to each of which about 8,000 people are invited. Invitations are given either directly by the Palace, or on the recommendation of public officials and institutions. It is rumoured, let us hope without truth, that rascally scalpers offer invitations for sale at exorbitant prices to tourists. If you do get in, do not miss the most luxurious 12-seater mobile lavatory in the world, with hot and cold running water and running flunkies, discreetly hidden behind the rhododendrons. And do not steal the crockery as a souvenir, as many do. It is not the Queen's tea cup, but Joe Lyon's. When she is in London, the Queen spends weekdays at Buckingham Palace.

She spends most weekends, and a month in the summer for Ascot, at Windsor Castle, her country home, and in recent years has been spending more time at Windsor than formerly. Unlike her town palace, Windsor Castle looks like a royal palace out of the romances ought to look, by Malory out of Arthur Rackham. But do not be misled by its distant spires, its antique towers, and that great round tower looming over the Thames. Most of them were put there by Wyatt for George IV in another of George's spectacular fits of architectural megalomania. Presumably Wyatt put in the portcullis and Hollywood machicolations and battlements so that the king could pour boiling oil down on parliamentary critics Willie Hamilton on about his extravagance. In George's days they were numerous.

Wyatt asked George for permission to change his name to Wyattville, which seemed to him less common for the royal architect. George replied engagingly: "Veal or mutton, call yourself what you like."

Although the façade of Windsor is slightly bogus, it is a splendid palace, and much of it is genuinely old. William the Conqueror built the central mound and the first wooden Round Tower as part of a ring of fortresses that encircled London and dominated his reluctant new kingdom. His descendants, notably Henry II and III, turned it to stone, and added the surrounding walls, wards, and towers. Edward IV built St George's Chapel, the supreme masterpiece of English Perpendicular, which has become a central shrine of the monarchy, and so of the idea of English nationhood.

Windsor does not show its age of 900 sometimes turbulent, sometimes forgotten years, partly because of Wyatt's nineteenth century Gothic Revival, and partly because it is built of a grey crystalline silicate stone that is washed as clean as new by every shower. Its red letter day is the Garter Service in June, when the Queen and her family and Knights of the Garter walk in procession to St George's. The Order was founded by Edward III as a brotherhood of young men dedicated to Arthurian idealism, jousting, feasting, and what men call gallantry and gods adultery. The elderly retired public figures who have taken the place of the young braves look as if they are past all those activities, incongruous but quaint in flowing mantles and hats with ostrich plumes. The lower ward and state apartments are open to the public for most of the year. There are fine walls and splendid vistas in the Great Park, past the Queen's magnificently run home farm, and down the Long Mile to the Copper Horse (a gigantic equestrian statue of George III, who loved Windsor and acquired his nickname of Farmer George for his diligence on his estates there).

The Queen spends up to six weeks in the late summer at Balmoral Castle on the upper Dea. In strict constitutional doctrine the monarch cannot take a holiday. The red boxes, the Privy Counsellors and the other formal duties of the head of state accompany her everywhere she goes. But Balmoral is as near as she gets to a holiday. For that reason it is a favourite home of the Queen's, as it was of her great-grandmother's.

Victoria loved it above all retreats, because of the sacred memories of Albert, and because of John Brown and the other Highlanders, who treated her without servility as a neighbour.

The Queen has her Scottish home at Balmoral by pure accident, for no better reason than that the summer of 1847 was foul. Victoria and Albert, already in love with the Highlands, which reminded them rather oddly of Albert's native Thuringen, suffered from torrential storms, sea sickness, and midgets on a house-hunting cruise up the west coast of Scotland. On the advice of their doctor, a fresh-air fiend, they settled on the east coast, which is more bracing, less picturesque. They bought Balmoral Estate.

In 1852 an eccentric miser called Nield left Victoria a quarter of a million pounds in his will. She deduced in her diary that he had done so because he knew she would not waste the money. She used some of it to build the present Balmoral Castle in the Neo-Baronial, Scots-wha-hae style, multi-turreted, with the hint of archers behind the battlements and clansmen with claymores in the shrubbery. Albert, naturally, had a considerable hand in the architecture and interior decoration, which suffers from a bilious epidemic of tartanitis.

The widowed queen was responsible for the lugubrious atmosphere of Balmoral, which came to be known as Balmorality for its dullness and prissiness. Her love for her Highland home, though not the stuffiness of her later years there, appear to have been inherited by her subsequent descendants. You cannot visit Balmoral unless you are a house guest of the Queen, a Privy Counsellor on business, or a member of a Scottish regiment acting as royal guard and beaters of grouse for the guns.

Just before he died Albert used the Prince of Wales's income from the Duchy of Cornwall to buy his eldest son Sandringham House in Norfolk. It was rebuilt as a solid, unpretentious, red-brick mansion in the style that is best known as 1870 Tudor. It became Edward's favourite country house, famous for its shooting, its gaudy nights, and its brilliant and sometimes slightly flash house parties.

Edward VIII disliked Sandringham, which he described as the stronghold where his father had waged his private war with the twentieth century. By contrast George VI liked playing the country squire, and was a passionate and dead-eyed shot of anything wearing feather or fur that moved and could legally and sportingly be shot at. Under him the tradition grew up that the royal family spent the Christmas holidays at Sandringham. This tradition has recently been modified. Christmas Day now tends to be spent at Windsor, and the Queen then goes to Sandringham for New Year. The house needs to be extensively repaired and modernized, having been built for the days of an Edwardian household above and below stairs. But the economic depression and royal sensitivity to accusations of extravagance have postponed the work, and may have caused it to be abandoned. Parts of the house have just been opened to the public in the summer.

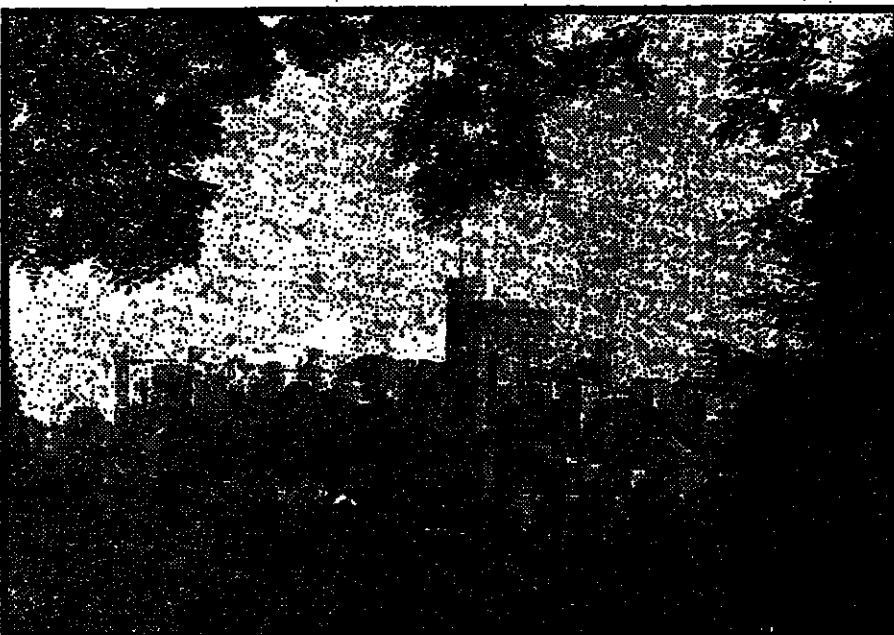
When in Scotland, the Queen understandably prefers to get away from it all to Balmoral. But her official palace as Queen of Scotland is Holyroodhouse, the sinister old pile where Rimio and others met bloody ends. Charles II built most of the palace as it exists today, erecting a twin tower to balance the original medieval twin tower, and linking them with three sides of a square of Palladian wings, rising to a classical climax of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian pilasters. The Queen stays at Holyrood for about a week a year in the summer, and holds her Scottish garden party while she is there. Visiting heads of state have recently started using it as their historic but not very comfortable hotel while they see Scotland.

It can therefore be concluded that the Queen has no shortage of houses to lay her head in. However, she has far fewer than all but her immediate predecessors. Palace-building and fashion-setting used to be royal functions. And the medieval monarchs and the Tudors and Stuarts had castles spread over the land for strategic and economic reasons; to hold the kingdom, and to eat up the feudal rents, which were mostly paid in kind, by travelling from castle to castle on perpetual chevachee. The monarch's function today has evolved to be symbol of national unity and figurehead of the constitutional machine. So, as the Duke of Edinburgh correctly observed, most of the palaces have become national museums as well as private houses.

Philip Howard



BUCKINGHAM PALACE—THE HEAD OFFICE.



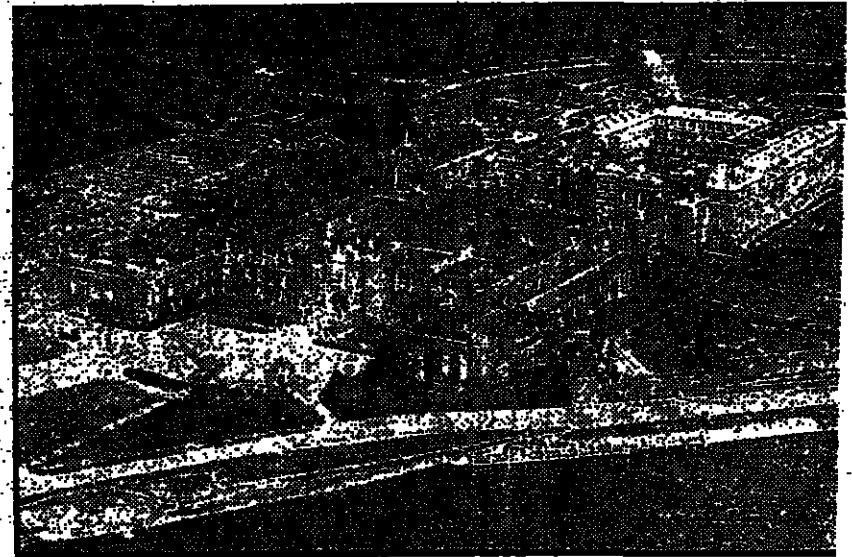
WINDSOR CASTLE: SPLENDID, GENUINE.



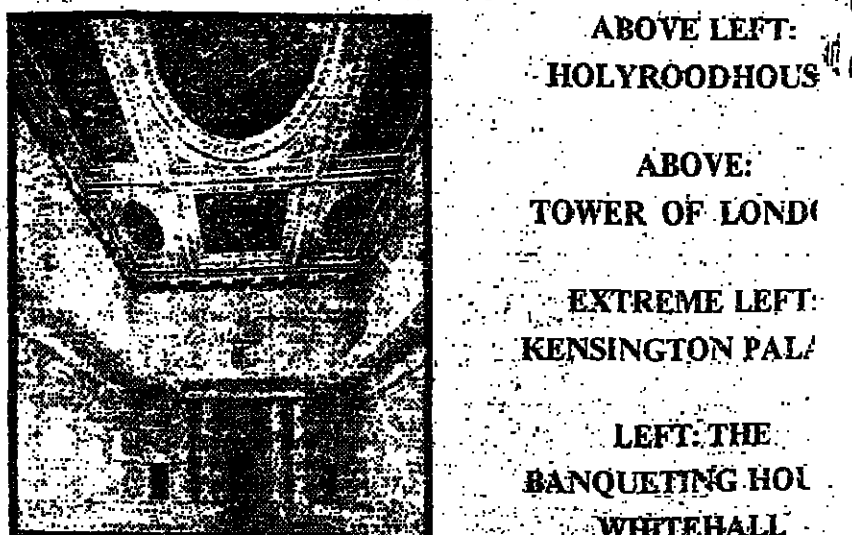
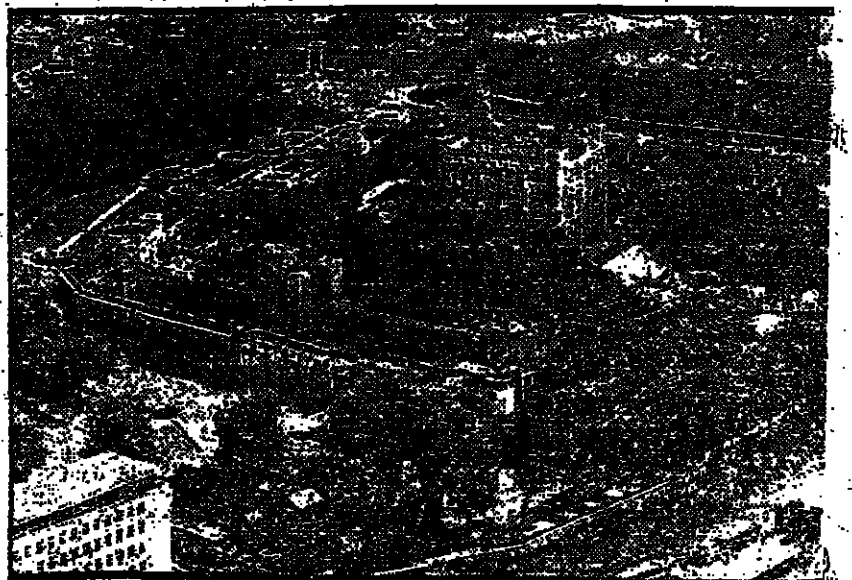
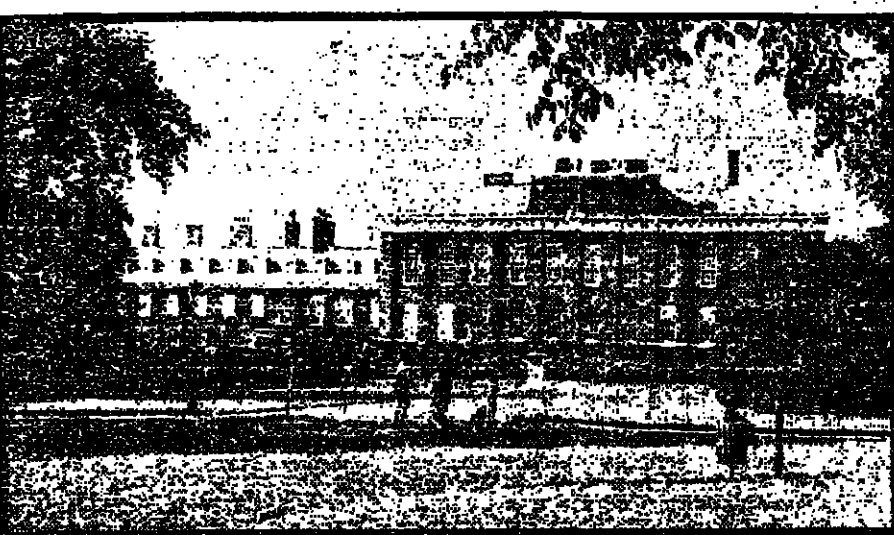
BALMORAL: THE QUEEN'S FAVOURITE.



SANDRINGHAM: PUTTING CLOCKS ON.



HAMPTON COURT: GRACE AND FAVOUR



ABOVE LEFT: HOLYROODHOUSE

ABOVE: TOWER OF LONDON

EXTREME LEFT: KENSINGTON PALACE

LEFT: THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL

Bernard Levin

Why 24 people wore ear-muffs and false noses

My well-known belief that all scientists are mad has just received support so powerful that for a time it threatened to unhinge my own reason, and by the time I had finished this morning I fear that many of you will be unshakably convinced that it did.

The subject is, on the one hand, autokinetic phenomena, and on the other, noses. With noses I shall presume that you are familiar; autokinetic, which may be less so, is the curious optical illusion in which, if you are staring in otherwise complete darkness at a fixed point of light, the light seems to move, though in fact it does not. These things are brought together, though, at the moment you are no doubt unable to see how (rest assured that you may be in the same bewildered condition even when I have explained), in *Nature*, the eminently respectable scientific magazine, a Mr Frederick of the University of Aberdeen. (Mr Frederick writes from the Psychology Department, which suggests that he certainly ought to be all right in the head, it being, you might say, his job to be. But he may be a patient from a local funny-farm brought along for the students to practise on.)

Mr Frederick begins by quoting a fellow-worker in this field, one Bower, who points out that most animals, including man, have noses so positioned that they are visible to the wearer. The nose plays some part in visual perception, and whether, therefore, people with no noses have impaired vision. ("Unfortunately," says Frederick, "this clinical condition is now rarely encountered, but, where a student is making it very difficult to test the theory.")

Baffled, the good Frederick turns the problem nearly on its head. In the autokinetic experiment, the nose must be, *hypothetically*, invisible. Why, therefore, make it visible and see if the light-point still seems to move? But if you make the nose visible, by switching the lights on, the darkness on which the optical illusion depends will vanish. And at that point, Dr Frederick gets into his stride. Mark:

Two alternative methods suggest themselves. The subject may wear a luminous false nose, or small electric light bulbs may be inserted in his nostrils, illuminating the nose from within. Each method has disadvantages. The luminous false nose has a pale greenish-white appearance and does not correspond in size and conformation to the subject's own nose.

Well, no. And, in size and conformation, I should have thought, unless Dr Frederick is in the habit of meeting people with pale greenish-white noses, which would speedily drive even me off my head, and I'm not a scientist. But there are also the disadvantages of the other method to be considered—the one where they shove small electric light-bulbs up your nostrils and switch on.

The inserted light bulbs involve a degree of physical discomfort, but the organ visible is the subject's own, unless young Frederick, with one of those high-pitched giggles, has switched noses on the poor devil while his attention was distracted, giving off a translucent pink glow.

(What do you mean, "Even though"? It's better than pale greenish-white, isn't it?)

Each of the subjects (twelve girls, with an average age of 18.56 years, to quote our material) was asked to wear a luminous false nose, or a pair of light bulbs at a point of light while wearing a luminous false nose, one wearing light-bulbs in the nostrils, and one wearing nothing but the nose which was born with. No significant results, either for the onset of the autokinetic illusion, or its duration, were found.

That would have been enough, I imagine, for you and me; indeed, for me it would have been considerably more than enough. But old Doc Noses is made of stouter stuff, and besides, it wasn't his nose he was showing light-bulbs up or covering in a standard moulded rubber artificial nose, coated with non-toxic luminous paint. (I forgot to mention that throughout the experiments the subjects also wore ear-muffs. Frederick says that this was to avoid interference from irrelevant auditory stimuli, but I say it was because Frederick is as mad as a March hare, and possibly a good deal madder.) So he got together a second group, adding 12 young men to his dozen ladies. "No effects of sex," he records demurely, "were observed." (Well, of course they weren't—you'd taken care to see that pitch darkness prevailed throughout.)

Mr Frederick hadn't you noticed that matter, was there any significant difference in the autokinetic phenomenon, either, though—leaving nothing to chance, you see—Frederick also tested his subjects in a control condition in which the subject wore an ordinary (non-luminous) false nose or in which light bulbs were inserted in the nostrils but were not illuminated.

Are you sure you have got the picture? I mean, the whole picture? In case you have not, let's have a recap. Twelve young men and 12 young women are sitting around in pitch darkness wearing ear-muffs, and also—I forgot this bit, too—a "voluminous cloth of black, non-reflective material similar, except in colour, to those used by hair-dressers". Some are wearing luminous false noses; some have donned ordinary non-luminous false noses; some have light-bulbs stuck up their nostrils, and of these some are illuminated, while others are not. Some are sitting there, feeling smug as all-get-out, with nothing on or in their noses at all. There is complete silence (no doubt broken from time to time—though the crazy Frederick does not mention this—by the sound of a body is staring fixedly at a point of light, apart, I suppose, from those who have fallen asleep, or who are laughing so helplessly that the tears pouring down their faces preclude them from observing anything at all. And round and about, and in and out, there ships Mad Fred, clutching his clipboard; sometimes he has his hand inside his jacket, like that, to indicate that he is indeed, having said that, he is insisting querulously that he is Julius Caesar, anon he claims, as well he might, that he is the Dong with the Luminous Nose. No significant difference in the autokinetic phenomenon, either, though—leaving nothing to chance, you see—Frederick also tested his subjects in a control condition in which the subject wore an ordinary (non-luminous) false nose or in which light bulbs were inserted in the nostrils but were not illuminated.

And when he gets there, so help me, he concludes that "it may be that the techniques employed were not sufficiently refined." For my own part, I would say that they certainly were not—indeed, that so far from being refined, they approached the uncomfortable, close to being coarse. Yet all, even now, is not lost: "The project," says Frederick, "is at an early stage."

Is it, indeed? Then none of you can say that you have not been warned. There is a man running about Aberdeen at this very moment who is liable to descend on innocent citizens, clap ear-muffs and voluminous non-reflective black hair-dresser's windings upon them, jam artificial rubber noses over their own, ram light-bulbs up their nostrils, and drag them off to a nearby cellar, there to work his wicked will upon them. He is a man of question being to make them stare at a fixed point of light and tell him when it starts to move. "Canst thou tell," asks Lear's Fool, "what the eyes are?" "No," comes the reply. "To keep one's eyes of either side's nose." The Mad Scientist of Aberdeen could hardly have put it better.

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Sir John Colville on what could be the future shape of government

Devolution can offer Britain a new design for democracy

The operations of the devil you know are generally preferred to untried experiments in areas where yet fonder fiends may lurk. This is the predictable British response to any suggestion of tampering with a political system which has evolved over the centuries and is proclaimed as the inspiration of all the democratic systems of parliamentary government established in the past 400 years.

The shawl in which the Mother of Parliaments is wrapped is layers thick. Can it and should it be unwound? There are few more shamefully misused words in democracy. It is sentimentally linked with ancient Athens where, in fact, slavery was the basis of the system. It is applied with obvious deceit to political systems in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa where a group of leaders or the manipulators of a single party declare themselves the sole, infallible interpreters of the people's will.

In Britain it is used by Maoists and Marxists, no less than by the established political parties, as a synonym for virtue. British governments, seldom chosen by anything approaching a majority of the electors, may be proclaimed a democracy by comparison with others which call themselves democratic. But it is only by comparison.

They, too, have little justification for their claim to act as legislators in the people's name, for Parliament has long been incapable of controlling the executive. The House of Commons obediently endorses delegated legislation which it has neither examined nor approved in detail.

The new surge of devolutionary enthusiasm presents an opportunity for radical change and for the introduction of a system which could, without achieving the probably unattainable goal of genuine democracy, come a great deal closer to it than does our time-hallowed but decreasingly respected establishment at Westminster.

We may, perhaps, be approaching a return to something reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. If so, we may as well profit from the change.

Single chamber assemblies will doubtless be established in Scotland and Wales, and, in due course, restored Northern Ireland. England, too, might with advantage be divided

into regions with assemblies autonomous in all but a number of such reserved functions as defence, foreign affairs and the national budget.

The North East (Northumberland, Durham and North Yorkshire); Lancashire, with Cumbria, Cheshire and Staffordshire; South and West Yorkshire, with Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and parts of Lincolnshire; East Angles, embracing Cambridgeshire, South Lincolnshire, most of Essex, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and perhaps Buckinghamshire; Merca, centred on Birmingham and stretching eastwards to Leicester and Northampton, westwards to the Welsh border and southwards to Newport; the South West, with its capital at Bristol and including Gloucestershire as well, perhaps, as Oxfordshire and Berkshire; the counties south of London from Hampshire to Kent; and, largest of all, London with a slice of the Home Counties.

These are well-defined regions, sometimes delineated by geographical features such as the Pennines or the Thames, sometimes by industrial development and sometimes by anything approaching a majority of the electors, may be proclaimed a democracy by comparison with others which call themselves democratic. But it is only by comparison.

There would be disparities of population. The North East would have little more than 11 million inhabitants, whereas Greater London and its slice of the Home Counties would exceed 12 million. This is in itself a cogent reason for giving the sparsely populated areas a large element of autonomy, for the needs of Durham and Newcastle should not be subordinated to those of the thickly populated areas in the Midlands and the south.

If the southern English believe that dagoes begin at Dover, those north of the Tees may be forgiven when they substitute Darlington for Dover.

Each of the new regions would contain existing or modified county councils, boroughs and districts. These would, no doubt, be left to run their affairs much as at present, but they would be subordinated to the regional assembly.

Because the assemblies had greater power and influence than the present organs of local government, it is to be expected that they would have to turn out long typical of local elections would vanish. It might

also be that in some regions, and eventually in all, men and women would be elected to the assembly because they were locally known and respected and not because of the party tag attached to their names.

Reasonable election expenses would be provided from the public purse for those who showed there was a substantial support for their candidature, so that no serious aspirant to serve his region was thwarted by inability to call on party funds.

Regional assemblies would not be subjected to any nationally enforced social doctrine. Thus, for example, one region might decide in favour of universal comprehensive education while another might choose to retain and support its grammar schools.

Revenues would be raised, on the authority of the assembly, by local taxation. The laws passed by each assembly, or the regulations it imposed, would be valid in its own region, but local ordinances of this kind would be prescribed by a basic code of Common and Statute Law which could only be changed when a substantial majority of Assemblies were in favour.

Members would be elected by the regions, but would have their corps of administrative officials, on the recruitment and remuneration of whom the assembly would decide. Each would have a Speaker and would be appointed by the vote of its general assembly, members charged with the direction of health, local taxation, education and other regional functions.

There might be elections every three years, or perhaps one third of an assembly might be elected each year. By-elections would be held when a member died or retired; but there would be no powers to dissolve an assembly between elections.

At Westminster the existing Houses of Parliament would be abolished. They would be replaced by a Council of State whose members would collectively advise the Crown. The council would have full responsibility for the central functions of defence, foreign affairs, customs (but not excise) and the raising of a federal revenue adequate to pay their cost. It would be backed by three or four powerful ministries in Whitehall, relating only to these federal functions.

If justice was, in the main,

regional, there would nevertheless be a national Court of Appeal competent to pronounce on regional as well as national law and on the application of a Bill of Rights, valid for the United Kingdom as a whole, which all the regional assemblies would be required to accept as a basic element of the Royal Charter by which they were established.

This Bill of Rights would assure the liberties of the subject and would contain provisions to enable citizens of any region to appeal against victimisation.

It might be open to amendment by a joint recommendation from at least three quarters of the regional assemblies, subject to endorsement by the highest federal court of justice. It should be a straightforward document, stripped of jargon and, unlike most modern legislation, comprehensible to all reasonably literate citizens.

The council of state would be restricted in size to, say, one hundred members. The majority of them would be representatives selected by each of the regional assemblies, including Scotland, Wales and Ulster. There might also be a few ex officio members, such as judges and nominees of the TUC, as well as a small leavening of distinguished men and women from the civil service, industry, the churches and the universities appointed by the Sovereign on the recommendation of the council.

The council would select, either from among its own members or from outside, ministers to supervise the functions reserved for it. These ministers would have to be given an account of their activities to the council and might be required to resign by a two-thirds majority.

The council would have the right and duty to advise the Sovereign to veto any regional Bill of Rights which might interfere with regional decisions unless they contravened the basic laws of the country. The advantages of such a new design for government would be these:

1. The United Kingdom would remain intact but radically decentralised.

2. Political parties as we know them today would in due course wither away as the regions

showed a preference for men and women whose competence and character they recognized irrespective of party.

3. The sprawling bureaucracy of 1977, employing one in ten of the population, would be widely deployed and there would be every opportunity to diminish it.

4. Local diversities and divergencies would be allowed fuller expression.

5. Decisions at the centre, taken by a small council of state, would be rapid and would not be inhibited by the buffoonery of parliamentary procedure, privilege and protocol. Central oversteering would be discouraged by the majority of regional representatives on the council whose interest would be to keep federal taxes as low as practicable. Local oversteering would be jealously watched by the electors of the assemblies.

6. Above all, the smaller units would become repositories of something much closer to genuine democracy; for the individual would be encouraged to participate in affairs which affected him locally and which would certainly be reported and discussed more fully by his local newspapers and radio station than are measures now debated (and scarcely reported) in the distant chambers, corridors and committee rooms of the Palace of Westminster.

There would be many problems. Some regions would be richer than others. Industrial companies with factories in different parts of the country would be subject to varying regulations and local taxes. Regional police forces and such things as motorway repairs would have to be nationally coordinated.

The drafting and general acceptance of the Bill of Rights might give rise to controversy. The action or inaction of the Council of State might irritate one or another of the regional assemblies when their own representatives on the council were outvoted.

However, if the heptarchy or something comparable to it may be back with us before the present century ends, it is not too early to debate the best, simplest and most practical way to mould the shape of things to come.

The author was Joint Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister from 1951 to 1955.

How Queen Victoria and Lord Salisbury nearly wrecked the 1887 jubilee

In March, 1887, during one of the Marquess of Salisbury's periodic visits to Windsor Castle, Queen Victoria asked her Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary (for he held both positions) his opinion on several aspects of the impending golden jubilee and was shocked to discover he had no idea what was being contemplated or how best to organize matters.

In spite of the Queen's evident pique and irritation (to which she gave full vent in her diary), Salisbury's lack of concern about the jubilee was entirely in character. Consummate aristocrat that he was, he found the Court and its trappings completely uninteresting. Indeed, having said that, he is repeatedly declining a dukedom—he would do so again during the year—he found it most easy to ignore a mere jubilee.

His lack of interest did not bode well for the occasion. Following the defeat of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill in 1886, Salisbury came to power pledged to maintain the union and bring quiet if not peace to Ireland through the imposition of a new order. The order which the Irish called the "Jubilee Coercion Bill". Under the cool leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish Nationalists along with a fair number of Radical Liberals under the capricious direction of Henry Labouchere meant to see what they could do to thwart this plan by obstructing all parliamentary business.

In 1887, for instance, he informed the Prime Minister that "the committee hardly see how they can be of much use—as everything will be undertaken by the particular department under which it comes".

This being the case, the jubilee committee quickly stopped meeting, thus leaving each department to work—or more accurately, to postpone its work—independently.

In the meantime Salisbury completely put the jubilee from his mind and concentrated instead on the more important matters of isolating Lord Randolph Churchill, a potential threat to his ministry, who was then signed as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and cementing the still uneasy alliance with the Liberal Unionists under Lord Hartington.

In addition, he also had the Irish to worry about. Following the defeat of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill in 1886, Salisbury came to power pledged to maintain the union and bring quiet if not peace to Ireland through the imposition of a new order. The order which the Irish called the "Jubilee Coercion Bill". Under the cool leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish Nationalists along with a fair number of Radical Liberals under the capricious direction of Henry Labouchere meant to see what they could do to thwart this plan by obstructing all parliamentary business.

Unfortunately for Salisbury several aspects of the jubilee needed the attention of Parliament; there was, for instance, the appropriation to cover the cost of decorating Westminster Abbey, the place where the Queen had decided the service of thanksgiving would be celebrated on June 21.

Under the joint threat of Irish Nationalist opposition and that from Lord Randolph Churchill, then in a period of stern economy, the ministry decided against giving the Queen any "small helps" which she asked for to help feed and accommodate the expected royal and diplomatic guests (and thereby lost their own substantial influence on Victoria). They also cut the £3,000 set aside for fireworks and illuminations in London.

Even so the £17,000 appropriation was vehemently attacked in the House of Commons, despite the fact that it was the smallest budget of the reign for an event of this importance. None the less, 84 MPs voted against it.

Salisbury's attitude to the ministry was the Queen's insistence that her third son, the Duke of Connaught, be brought home from his post as Commander-in-Chief in Bombay to attend the jubilee festivities. Connaught, however, if Connaught left India he would automatically forfeit his position.

To Queen the Duke was a simple one: either bring Connaught home and reappoint him after the jubilee, or pass a special Act to exempt him from the existing law. To the

ministry, matters were hardly so cut and dried.

For one thing the Salisbury Cabinet was by no means as committed to the Duke of Connaught's continued employment as the Queen was. Indeed, as he was an indifferent soldier at best, his members would not have been at all averse to displacing him entirely. For him to resign and then be reappointed by Tories was, therefore, not a viable course.

On the other hand ministers would have a field day with any special legislation introduced to benefit Connaught alone. Under the circumstances, therefore, they felt perfectly justified in advising that Connaught remain at his post in India.

Predicably the Queen was livid and continued to press Lord Salisbury to adopt another line. As a postscript to one of the several pointed letters which she directed to the harassed Prime Minister on the matter, her Private Secretary, Sir Henry Ponsonby, noted that she was "very angry" and "very much distressed" by the Queen's attitude.

In the end the Cabinet gave way and had the Duke of Connaught leave India. How the Queen worked to bring Connaught home is a good indication of the lengths to which she was willing to go to secure her own wishes in all aspects of the jubilee, whether or not it was generally convenient or sensible to do so.

As a result, and because

neither Lord Salisbury nor any other leading Cabinet minister involved himself, the jubilee moved forward uncertainly, accompanied by a growing barrage of criticism as the press and public became aware of the drastically limited and makeshift nature of the impending ceremonial. Finally even the organ of the ministry, the *Conservative Standard*, joined in, editorializing that "it is our duty to say, at once, and in the plainest of language, that the procession designed for Jubilee Day... is utterly inadequate, mean, pinched, and narrow and appears to be dictated by a parsimonious spirit unworthy of a rich and powerful State."

It is a matter of history, of course, that the golden jubilee did not fail. It succeeded, however, in spite of both Lord Salisbury and especially the Queen, rather than because of them, and primarily because Englishmen in the provinces did not allow the middle-class disorganization and small-mindedness of the London elite to bother them unduly but went right ahead to transform what was ostensibly a royal occasion into a great popular celebration in honour of themselves and the 50 years of progress which had marked Victoria's reign.

Jeffrey L. Lant, an administrator at Boston College in Massachusetts, wrote his doctoral dissertation on *Harvard and Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees*. His most recent article on the subject appears in the summer issue of *Nineteenth Century magazine*.

Stand by to repel Japweed



The inwash of torn-up of the seaweed pop called Japweed (*Sargassum muticum*) which was found on the Isle of Wight in February 1973, is increasing along the south coast. Watchers, naturalists and keen beach-providers are asked now to be careful watch for any signs of it on the shore and to its presence, if found, to Portsmouth Polytechnic Marine Biology Department, Hants.

Fearing down at the all the time is not natural bird-watching. But there compensation, for this gaze at the straggling made it imperative to harder than usual for a call, a shout from immigrants or from fliers.

After a few days the test bird sound catches it. Last week first there were gannets, whistlers, sandwings, and away from the water stone-on-stone "chack" f bobbing Westward further the beach. Both sounds bird-watchers straighten backs quickly and as the went on, the Japweed-sea was more frequently ruptured. Strange feeling gazed the possibility of Dartford Warbler up gorse and blackthorn.

Then the sea was by a few Nightingale and the yellowish phrases of a lesser throat. No one bothered at the stretch of Ring-necked Puffins, which were quite aware of the colony became naturally did so well in widebreeders round a coastal. But the high "sweep" low Wagtails, the trill of "Seven Whistles" whistled, the purr of early, Turtle Dove all a pause and lift our binoculars.

Little Terns are cor at last. Swallows and winter over the edge beyond the sea-view. It was quickly and happened to look up at earliest Swift flying sil land on April 24.

As the summer bird in now, faster and fast to see with an foot for the alien power. The distractions are but it is important to any fragments of *S. muticum*, as this place could become a small fishing boat, mainly to oyster-bed, along the Californian coast.

So we go on searching, necked, gazing down pasted-in seaweeds, the yankies and stick at us from the beyond the top of it. In fact we stayed so long that we were only exclaiming delight. One other when a Cuckoo, about a sounding triumphant, arrived in England again.

Alisc

The Beaverbrook saga: weary, stale, flat and unprofitable

"When do you think it will all be settled?" I was asked recently by a director of Beaverbrook Newspapers, who moaned when I said I thought it might be at least reasonably conclusive by November. Businessmen know a bid and counterbid saga takes nine months but, while newspapers are commodities in the sense that they must be bought or sold or financially supported, unable to support themselves, there is a difference. Unlike a can of paint or a brand of wallpaper, there is so much about the production of a newspaper that depends on human energy rather than technical production.

At Beaverbrook, that energy is being so sapped that many are already wishing the board had accepted the original Associated Newspapers offer for the *Evening Standard* and got on with producing newspapers. Morale is desperately low, and middle executives are resigning the strain even more than top executives.

"We are flat, flat and tired," one man told me. Another said: "Do you know

what it is like to sit at a typewriter and write today's news with no knowledge or prospect of whether you are coming to the end of your newly begun career?" A third said: "I'd rather we just went broke, then at least we could start looking for new jobs, or start new lives."

The editor of the *Daily Express*, Roy Wright, has done a good job since the conversion to tabloid format in January. But how good can a job be without the backing, the presentation, the framework of an energetic management pushing it with the big guns of the group? And Beaverbrook's management has been very much otherwise engaged.

Advertising schedules for the autumn are normally booked by now, and circulation plans off the drawing board, while sales managers brief their staffs on operations and projects to begin as soon as August sales season is over. But what can a circulation executive do now? What kind of hybrid will be promoting, and, speaking of promotion, how can anyone get

together with the creative teams to sell the papers which may or may not exist and, if they do continue in healthy existence, what will be their characters and what, therefore, will be the promotional themes?

At last week's board meeting, the Beaverbrook directors took a bold and progressive step. While it has been argued that the directors should long ago have come to terms with the urgent need for a large cash injection and, therefore, the need to open the door to possible new members of the group, the fact that they finally did so is significant.

The Beaverbrook board is still divided. Sir Max Aitken, the chairman, would like some deal with Associated Newspapers—not a complete takeover but most likely the sale of the *Standard* and the promise of some cash injection into the *Daily* and *Sunday Express*. His wish would be for some kind of saviour who would allow Beaverbrook to go on alone, and he plans much faith on Rupert Murdoch, who always willing to "mix

it" in Fleet Street, is in no mood to buy at present. Nor has Mr Murdoch the time and the energy to divert from his Transatlantic project, though he would not be averse to some interim interest in Beaverbrook which might eventually give him a chance of control.

In return for a cash injection and some interim power, Mr Murdoch would want to hand over management to his own chosen few. He found his talks with Sir Max at the beginning of last week totally inconclusive and went back to New York with an open mind about any invitation from the Beaverbrook board. Mr Murdoch is not going to repeat the *Observer* drama, when he answered an appeal for help, only to be called names and cast out when something else was offered. This time, he must be offered a firm proposal.

Historically, the Beaverbrook newspapers can hardly be said to have been run for the financial benefit of shareholders, apart from the lucky years. This was all right as long as those shareholders were

mainly family men and women. Now, with inflation eroding their lifestyles, the Aitken family can hardly be blamed for wanting the best of any deal, while the trustees of the Foundation have a bounden duty to seek the best cash terms.

The best does not involve Sir James Goldsmith and Mr "Tiny" Rowland with their "Cavro" syndicate. For Cavro would not wish to be putting into the pockets of the Aitkens and the Beaverbrook Foundation some £5m to £7m (as they would need to if a takeover were necessary). Cavro would seek to spend all available cash on resuscitating the newspapers and the company.

For more cash, Beaverbrook would have to seek a rights issue, which in itself would involve a wait of at least three months. Cavro would underwrite the rights issue and the price of the new shares would be decided by an independent financial body, in consultation with Rothschilds and Hambros, respectively bankers to Beaverbrook and Cavro. The price might attract the Aitken family or the trustees

of the Foundation and, if their rights allotment were not taken up by them, Cavro would automatically be left with the control by the simple process of a vast dilution of the Aitken and Foundation holdings.

As far as Associated Newspapers is concerned, there is the difficulty of the current antipathy to that group felt by the Government, which would naturally be involved, through the Monopolies Commission, if a closer link than the originally proposed sale of the *Evening Standard* were proposed. While I hold no brief for the Daily Mail's bungle, there is surely no case to state that the Mail is a threat to democracy.

There is yet another point. Surely no government of any sense or humanity could wish the death of even one newspaper if there is any chance of saving it. The fact that the *Evening News* is at risk if Cavro moves into Beaverbrook must have some weight with a Government which obviously is much about to kill the *Daily Mail* despite the late and hy-

teria of some parliamentary voices. Thus the Cavro deal is not the ultimate and obvious conclusion.

Ideally, all potentially interested parties should be brought together—and these would include Mr Murdoch's News International and at least one provincial group. Indeed, to tie the London evenings to a successful regional group with fewer manning and demarcation problems, would be to benefit them more than to tie them to national dailies.

The result would not be a consortium of publishers, so there would be no threat to democracy or anxiety for the Monopolies Commission. The result could be a number of separate and rival publishing companies with a consortium holding in a multi-production and distribution centre, offering shared costs.

Thus, each idea rarely comes to fruition, a perfect plan for such a production plant among the serious, quality papers came to grief some five years ago, to the subsequent regret of most of the potential pro-

Stee

FACTS AND FIGURES

Atlantic contrast shows some sharp differences

The most striking feature of the present situation is the contrast between the rate of industrial growth and balance of trade of the United States on the one hand and the major European countries on the other. On the other side of the Atlantic production is picking up and the trade deficit is increasing; on this side the reverse is happening, as the graphs show.

American industrial production is growing at an annual rate of 8 per cent. All the statistics are encouraging: retail sales have risen 2.4 per cent in volume between February and March, and this has been accompanied by a sharp rise in consumer credit.

Only investment is refusing to show a strong, spontaneous improvement, although there are still hopes of real growth of 7 per cent from 1976 to 1977. Although the inflationary measures affecting consumption have been deliberately abandoned, those affecting capital goods deserve to be retained.

If, on balance, the level of United States business activity is satisfactory, this is far from the case with the balance of trade, where the deficit is increasing steadily. The deficit for the first quarter of 1977 (\$6,000m, fob-cif) is already as much as for the whole of 1976, and there is no sign that this will improve. The authorities are less worried by these financial problems, which are easily overcome by recycling petro-dollars, than by the effect of imports on specific industries. Two well-known instances are Japanese colour televisions and European special steels.

In the four major European countries, the picture is different. Growth is flabby, although West Germany, which, like the United States, should be well placed for renewed growth, has a low rate of inflation and low interest rates. In the three other countries this is far from being the case.

German industrial production has risen little, contrary to last month's hopes, and has even shown some signs of weakening. After reaching 7 per cent at the end of 1976 and the beginning of 1977, it is back to 3 per cent. Interpreting the figures has, it is true, become more difficult recently because of the change in the method of calculation (the figures have also been corrected in France and Italy), but several other statistics confirm the recent turning point. For example, retail sales fell 1 per cent in volume from January to February.

	Rate of growth	Quality of growth		Maintenance of growth		
		Prices	Unemployment	Productive capacity	Foreign trade	Vulnerability to external factors
GERMANY	●●●	●●●	○	●●●	●●●	●●●
FRANCE	●●●	●●●	○	○	○	○
ITALY	○	○	○	○	○	○
BRITAIN	○	○	○	○	○	○

New orders in industry, especially from abroad, also showed a fall in January and February, followed by a small increase in March. Finally, the number of unemployed, seasonally adjusted, which had been falling slowly but steadily from July 1976 until March 1977, rose again in April to the psychological figure of one million. The German trade balance is not particularly remarkable. The rate of cover of imports by exports is still well above 100 per cent, and even rose to 120 per cent in March.

The sluggishness of the French and British economies is not as surprising as it is in Germany, being the simple result of the policy of restraint of prices and incomes. Against this background one could regard an industrial growth rate of 3 per cent as a good performance, in all the circumstances.

But the indisputable success lies in the great improvement in the trade figures, where April produced brilliant results. Britain's rate of cover of imports by exports rose to 92 per cent with a surplus on current account of more than £111m. France equalled this, also with a figure of 92 per cent. Those excellent results, brought about by a combination of restraint on home demand and stabilization of the money supply by government, were only to be expected.

Could this performance be maintained if output grew? Or would the balance revert to deficit, as in the United States? And would the resulting deficits not be far more worrying?

In fact international trade by the European countries accounts for 18 to 30 per cent of their gross national products (gnp) (compared with almost 7 per cent for the United States), which makes them dependent on the international economy. Deficits, especially when uncontrollably aggravated by accompanying falling exchange rates, are difficult for them to sustain; they are also difficult to finance, another point of contrast with the United States. It is probably true to say that the Western countries are, as a group, facing the prospect of deficits for some time to come. These are simply the results of the surpluses run by the oil-producing countries, and can only be reduced slowly by international action, such as saving energy and structural adjustments by industry.

In the short term the deficits will increase with the level of production and the associated effect on oil imports. Given that, individual countries can make their relative positions better or worse according to the international competitiveness of their products, their economic policy and disguised protectionist devices.

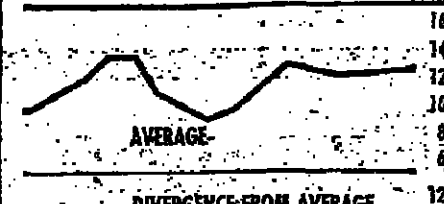
But those countries as a group can only slowly bring about an improvement in the global situation. All they can do is avoid making it worse by a chain reaction of protectionism. Moreover the United States, thanks to its privileged position as world banker, can lighten the deficit burden on other countries by assuming a large part of it itself. That is what it is doing.

There remains the matter of Japan and West Germany, which have been asked to restrain their overwhelming competitive edge a little, firstly by allowing the Deutsche mark and yen to appreciate—which is what has happened in the last month. But it is not likely that these monetary measures will be sufficient; voluntary self-imposed restrictions on exports are required, combined with growth in internal demand.

These ideas must have been in the minds of the ministers of the seven most important Western countries since the London conference of May 7 and 8, 1977: the need for close solidarity, and moderation of ambitions in the context of an international economy which is going to grow more slowly than had been hoped at the beginning of 1977.

Maurice Bommensath

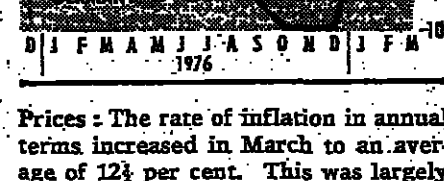
PRICES



Prices: The rate of inflation in annual terms increased in March to an average of 12½ per cent. This was largely because of the effect of British prices, which are rising faster again after a period of slower growth; the April figures showed a 2.6 per cent rise on the previous month. In France too, after a good start to 1977, inflation is up from 6 to 9 per cent. In West Germany by contrast inflation has fallen from 7 to 5 per cent.



Unemployment: In April unemployment (seasonally adjusted and expressed as a percentage of the labour force) rose markedly in France (from 5.15 to 5.3 per cent), rather less in West Germany (from 4.3 to 4.35 per cent), and stayed unchanged in Britain at 5.6 per cent.



United States: comparative situation and influence

Industrial growth ●● (●●) The American economy has grown strongly in the first quarter of 1977, when gnp rose 6.4 per cent in annual terms. This growth continues: the index of leading indicators rose 1.4 per cent in March, and new orders in industry rose 5.2 per cent (8 per cent for meat goods). Industrial production rose 0.8 per cent in April.

Prices ○○ (○○) Retail prices are still rising fast: 0.8 per cent in April; over the most recent three months this gives an annual rate of inflation of 10 per cent. Wholesale prices are also rising fast: 0.9 per cent in February, 1.1 per cent in March and April. This is an annual rate of 13 per cent over the last three months. The main factor over this period has been agricultural prices, which have increased at an annual rate of 38 per cent.

Unemployment ○ (○) Unemployment as a percentage of the labour force fell again in March to 7.3 per cent, and again in April to 7 per cent; the actual number of unemployed fell 330,000 to 6,700,000. This improvement was the result of a large increase in vacancies, more than a million in April, and 2,300,000 over the past six months.

Productive capacity ● (●) The rate of capacity use has improved, rising from 80.7 per cent in February to 82 per cent in March. Investment forecasts are optimistic for 1977, although all doubts and uncertainties are far from settled.

Trade ○○ (○○) The deficit on the trade balance was as large in the first quarter of 1977 as for the whole of 1976: \$5,900m, calculated fob-cif, and fob-cif basis (the normal one in the European countries) it was \$8,600m. In April the deficit reached \$2,600m fob-cif and \$3,600m fob-cif.

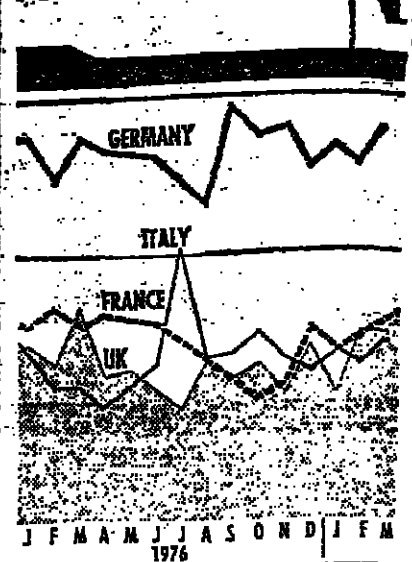
Influence on the four countries

Monetary and financial: The American money market has tightened again. The overnight rate is up to 5 per cent, and a 90-day American bill (including Citybank, Chase and Morgan Guaranty) have increased their prime rate from 6.25 to 6.5 per cent. Me in Europe the relaxation continues. Britain has made further reductions in minimum lending rate which now stands at 8 per cent; interest rates in the money market have fallen in West Germany to 4 per cent; and the long-term rates are down from 7 per cent to 6½ per cent.

Economic: The main preoccupation of the western countries seems once again to be inflation. The United States, faced by the spiralling improvement in growth and the price spiral, has drawn back from reflation and pressing its partners to reflate. West Germany is in line with its policy of caution. Japan, on the other hand, with the threat to its exports, will encourage domestic consumption. The national climate will eventually be rather less favourable for the other countries.

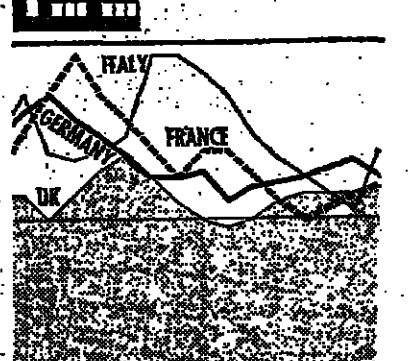
Legend: ○ Poor ○○ Bad ● Fairly good ●● Good () Previous performance

FOREIGN TRADE



Foreign trade: The latest figures: definite improvement in the rate of cover of imports by exports, calculated fob-cif as usual. This was particularly noticeable in France and Britain which reached 92 per cent in March. West Germany and Italy have also proved their performance, with figures for March of 119 per cent (113) 87 per cent (83) respectively.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH



Industrial growth: Industrial growth rates are still low, about 3 to 5 per cent. Italy is exceptional, however, with a growth rate which has risen up to 8 per cent from the beginning of 1977. The West German rate, on the other hand, has declined.



The number of unemployed in Germany rose to one million in April.

How the heavy lira was conceived

In the United States, there are even some \$10,000 bills in circulation. There are not many of them—400 in all, apparently—and their movements are no doubt rather circumspect and slow; but they do exist, and each one of them is worth almost 9m Italian lire at the present rate of exchange, a figure that would not look out of place as one of the prizes in a national lottery.

It is not surprising, therefore, that some people in Italy are thinking of a currency change that would make one new "heavy" lira equal to 1,000 of the present, very "light" lire, which are becoming increasingly insubstantial as time goes by, because of a rate of domestic inflation that it seems impossible to bring below 20 per cent a year.

Certainly, it would be more dignified for the Italian currency if you got only 9,000 lire in exchange for a \$10,000 bill; or only 375 for a German DM 1,000 note; or 350 for a Swiss 1,000 franc note; or 90 for a French 500 franc note, and as little as 75 for a British £50 note, instead of the present figures, all a thousand times greater.

But it is not easy to say to an Italian: "Give me a thousand old lire and I will give you one new lira." It is difficult to explain to him that this would not be a devaluation, but a

technical operation to simplify calculations and public and private sector balance sheets, and restore prestige to the currency; and that everything would adjust itself to the new value of the lira, from prices to rents, and salaries and pensions.

Besides, quite apart from a certain reluctance to disclose one's own liquid assets, when the changeover to the new money takes place and the old notes are all put up in bundles, anyone who has lire, light though they may be, is lucrably attached to them. This is shown by the level of savings in Italy, which have never risen so quickly in the banks as over the past few years, and now stand in excess of 120,000,000m lire (light lire, because if they were heavy there would only be 120,000m).

Even though the proposal—it would be more exact to say suggestion—came from one of the Bank of Italy's auditors, Signor Alberto Campolongo, also a professor of economics and, as such, a reliable, authoritative expert, its acceptance in the end is still open to a great many doubts worthy of attention. It is not so much the fear that there might be a repetition of the situation 30 years ago when the plates, which were all ready for printing the new heavy lire notes—at that time the ratio of old lire to new was to be 100 to one—were stolen. The theft was a coup, by the usual person or persons unknown, that was as futile as it was audacious, since the changeover, if it really had been decided on, never took place.

The real cause for concern is the amount of bank notes that would have to be withdrawn, the possible repercussions of the operation on prices, which, light as the present lire are, are always ready to rise—and the cost and complications for the Government, which would have to print the bank notes and mint the new coins, and for the private sector, which would have to adapt vending and accounting machines to the new currency.

Among the many records that Italy holds—more of the unflattering than the flattering ones today, unfortunately—is the one for the largest circulation of paper money in relation to the number and income of the inhabitants. At the end of 1976, according to official figures, there were Bank of Italy notes in existence, in various denominations from 1,000 to

100,000 lire, to a value of more than 14.5m lire; and here it might be of interest to note, as the sign of a currency with a low purchasing power, and also as a sign of excessive liquidity, that there are many more 10,000 lire notes than 1,000 lire notes—more than 617 million of the one, less than 400 million of the other.

As both residents and visitors to Italy know, 500 lire notes are rare and so, especially, are the metal coins from 100 lire downwards, causing a small change crisis that is not the least serious of the various crises that afflict the country today.

More than 250,000 lire are in circulation per head of the population and this figure, converted into the other currencies, is only slightly lower than the figures for France and West Germany, countries where per capita income is two or three times greater than it is in Italy. Calculations show that the total for salaries, wages and other earned income does not exceed 17.5m lire a month in Italy, and this is the ceiling beneath which bank note circulation ought to be maintained to give greater protection against inflation.

Instead, it stands at exactly twice this level, and it is no coincidence that the rate of inflation in Italy is twice what it is in France, and considerably higher even than it is in Britain, where per capita income is not very much higher than in Italy, but the amount of bank notes in circulation per head of the population is only about half the Italian figure.

The technical cost involved in changing this mass of light notes into heavy ones would be extremely high. But, above all, there is a great deal of doubt whether, in return, there would be increased respect for the new currency.

It is also true that the Italians have never had a great deal of respect for the lira, not even when, at the end of the 1950s, and of the "economic miracle", it deserved the Oscar for the most stable western currency, precisely because it was considered small and weak compared with the dollar, which was worth 625 lire, and the pound, for which the lira rate was 1,500. If, therefore, the new rate were to appear on tomorrow's foreign exchange lists, it might prompt Italians to look on their own currency with a little more respect.

Mario Salvatorelli

Market price for new members

continued from preceding page

to be improvements, whether you enlarge the Community or not. I suggested that some of the things we were discussing could be introduced immediately. So we made a whole series of decisions to apply to this next meeting on June 21.

We instructed Coreper (Committee of Permanent Representatives) to make many more decisions during this period until June 21. It was agreed, that in order to give this authority to Coreper, ministers would have to instruct that this should be done. We gave to the President, myself, the right to refuse items on the agenda at the Council meeting, where there was a dispute, after consultation with the President of the Commission.

It was also agreed that commissioners should go more frequently to Coreper. Apparently there has been a tendency for this not to happen. Strong pleas were made that all member states should ensure that permanent representatives and any other officials who would take a prominent position in Coreper, should be people of standing in their own country. That was going to be left to the member states.

We agreed that we should meet in a small room, instead of in a great football stadium, and that we should meet with not more than four people overall: one minister, the permanent representative, and preferably one official. We also agreed that we should try to strip the agenda and become more like national cabinets and have less of this endless detail which is coming up.

There was no commitment for subsequent meetings or for the Belgian presidency, but we were absolutely determined to see this experiment actually tried out, not just talked about, and we got complete agreement.

The anti-EEC sentiment which has always existed in the Labour party seems to be coming up again in the Tribune group. What do you feel about this?

It is almost inevitable in any climate in which you are having domestic difficulties at home, when unemployment is high, when there is a real cut in living standards, and when the feeling of national buoyancy is not so good, it is going to take time for that mood of buoyancy to return, but in my view we shall recover it

quite rapidly in 1978. When we do I think a lot of these irritations and anomalies and points of difference about the European Community will be seen in better perspective.

In a climate of difficulty, there is a natural tendency to look for scapegoats, and the European Community is an obvious one. Food prices go up, and the Community is blamed, but no one mentions the effect of devaluation. Coffee prices go up, or cocoa prices go up, yet this is in no way the Community's fault. The snag about the Community is that it does have major faults in it. It is a ludicrous situation that we should have these great butter and wine surpluses. Until the Community tackles these, I will be absolutely unrepentant. Here am I, a strong committed marketeer, but I have not in any way disagreed that we must vigorously try to reform the Common Agricultural Policy.

I do think it is a pity that, during the British presidency, we did not put forward a comprehensive plan for reforming the dairy sector.

I agree with that. I think you cannot deal with the common agricultural review on an annual basis: you must have a structural plan for three or four years. The fact is that the Commission originally put in quite a tough package on milk and 3 per cent was the increase that Commissioner Gundelach said was absolutely the limit. Then in the middle of the night they compromised.

That was one of the substantial reasons why the British decided they should say "No". John Silkin has always been blamed. What should be made clear is that all of those were government decisions, made in total unanimity by his political colleagues, several of whom have a record of being strong supporters of the Community. What has been underestimated is the extent of our resolve. But we are not trying to abolish the common agricultural policy.

We are not trying to undermine the concept; we recognize it is there to stay. We are, and determinedly, going to change the common agricultural policy and in Brussels they are going to have to get used to that. If they want to run an attack on Britain for doing so, okay, we believe that we are not just doing it for the interest of Britain but also for the consumers throughout the Community.

At long last we are now seeing open debate about this and it is time that

the issue of agricultural prices was discussed by finance ministers, foreign ministers as well as by rural ministers and was seen round.

Let me ask you finally whether it is any other subject which can be tackled as urgently as agriculture.

I think the problem of convergence is a serious one. To economies of the Nine to converge, particularly when faced by unemployment, is probably too idealistic. The pace of convergence is a priority for the Community. Or its basic unity will be undermined almost any field you care to look at.

We have to be realistic, a thing takes time. It is an evolutionary process of development we as Euro-theologians simply do not stand this. They are always setting unrealistic targets. They say that the great millennium of Europe will arrive tomorrow, day, next year. Europe's development is impossible to predict steadily developing in almost way, forward towards greater.

The despair and depre: Europe comes from a few unpeople, who aspire far high anyone could hope to aspire actually damage Europe. The great air of unreality, and a lot of it is focused on the.

Looking not at the millennium next year, do you think Britain take part in direct elections?

It is going to be difficult. It is going to be difficult to have to do to construct a in the British Parliament of elections, and the method may have a crucial say on whether the May/June 1978 election will try hard to do it. The decision will have to be the House of Commons, and have to be a high sense of courage and self-discipline to get it done on the floor of the House.

I am certain that direct elections are coming in Britain. It is of when, and I would certainly happy if it were Britain and all the other countries. These issues, Parliament is there are differing opinions, and there will have measure of commitment and to get it through in time to May/June target. It is still

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THERE ARE ABOUT TWO MILLION YOUNG PEOPLE UNEMPLOYED IN THE EEC. WHAT IS BEING DONE?

Recession aggravates old problem

ussels at the Community meeting in London at the recent meeting of heads of state, one main theme of discussion was unemployment, and in particular the difficult situation of youth unemployment.

OECD too has recently set itself to this problem, in a case of awakening conscience admission of failure? Governments throughout Europe have tried to step up their efforts to young people to find employment. Politicians and economists in country have concluded that based on ad hoc measures are not sufficient, and that the structural rules of the free market are needed.

It is needed is a new conception of youth. Young people today are being the institutions to come up with answers.

There were two million people out of work in Europe. In the last year another wave of leavers will come on to the market and, in all probability, the unemployment figures will rise.

difficulties experienced by people in finding work are not in several countries such as Belgium, France and indeed the United States, the problem dates to the 1960s. The economic has merely aggravated youth unemployment, drastically in many of the worst sufferers being young people.

In the middle of 1970 people under 25 were 19 per cent of the unemployed in West Germany and 27 per cent in Italy or France, but now the figure is 29 per cent, and rises above 45 per cent in autumn with the seasonal rise in unemployment.

However the true position is not to some extent by the attitude of young people who, given the difficulties of finding a job, for one or another give up signing on. Although periods of unemployment are shorter than for workers, it is quite common for workers to experience second or third periods, having resigned or dismissed.

another factor "spurious employment"? The exalted expectation of people under 25? The refusal of them to take a job? No, but to a limited extent. At present public policy would be ill-equipped to believe that a large number of unemployed are willingly unemployed.

is the opinion voiced in a published recently by the on the subject of *The Introduction of Young People to Working* in addition to the economic crisis has hit school-leavers so hard, is a deeper crisis, a structural one between supply and demand in the labour market, a widening gap in the needs of job applicants and those of employers.

the face of these facts, what has and what is the policy pursued by EEC nations? With frequent meetings between ministers and Commission recommendations, the measures adopted in the past or now introduced are often similar in one country to another. However, a factor in this is the limited scope for action available to governments in a first phase during which it was taken to improve the situation of the unemployed and in cases to prevent or limit redundancy. Governments have been concentrating for a year or more on aid to job creation and training. This has been placed on one or other of these activities or on both, depending on national

temperaments, availability of financial resources and willingness to accept a budget deficit.

Some countries, began by setting up machinery to limit redundancies, tightening up of procedures and financial support from the state to compensate for short-time working in France, temporary subsidies (in Britain £20 a week) to employers deferring redundancies. The number of workers affected should be 224,000.

In a more positive vein, some governments have launched investment programmes or made special loans available to promote job creation; this has been done in West Germany (DM16,000m phased over several years). The Netherlands (fl.800m in 1977, fl.3,500m in 1978), France and Britain. The employers have committed their support for these measures; for instance private sector employers in West Germany have announced that 100,000 jobs are to be created and their counterparts in France are promising to recruit 300,000 under 25.

Another general trend; in Belgium the reduction of the retirement age; in France negotiations on the temporary introduction of early retirement before 65; in Britain a special allowance (£23 a week) for employees giving up all work one year before the statutory retirement age (12,000 people qualify for this).

However, other measures specifically aimed at helping the young have also been introduced.

Various forms of aid, subsidies or exemption from contributions, are available to companies recruiting young people. In Britain since last autumn the state has been offering £10 a week for 26 weeks to firms recruiting young people under the age of 20 who have been unemployed for more than six months (17,000 recipients). Premiums are paid on employment of young people in their first jobs and tax exemptions are shortly to be granted on the recruitment of a young person looking for his first job.

In Italy a Bill is under consideration which provides for payment of between 32,000 and 64,000 lire a month, depending on the region, to companies recruiting for an indefinite period.

Subsidies are also granted on the recruitment of young people under an employment-training contract. This formula, launched in France in June 1975, provides for subsidies of 30 per cent of the minimum wage, during working time and 100 per cent during training. This measure, whose impact was limited (30,000 contracts instead of the 100,000 hoped for) was carried on and developed in 1976, then widened in scope in 1977, so that apprentices are now included.

In Belgium and West Germany efforts are also being made to develop apprenticeship schemes. In Italy an employment-training contract scheme is planned, with subsidies of between 200 and 400 lire an hour depending on the region. It is expected that the number of young employees benefiting under it will be 400,000 to 500,000 in three years' time.

Programmes to provide people with temporary jobs working on community schemes after the example of the Canadian local initiative programme have been launched in The Netherlands and in Britain, where it is used to provide work for people over 50 as well as for the young (75,000 jobs created since October 1975). A formula of this type is planned in Italy with a view to training young people in museum-keeping, forest-fire prevention, tourism and cultural activities.

Jean-Pierre Dumont

Italy: nothing to do, nowhere to go

In the past young teachers, policemen, civil servants and the like would leave Sicily to seek their fortunes elsewhere in Italy. The state was the one great employer, with many offices, schools and other bureaucratic outlets spread all over the country. Now, Palermo has been the starting point for the new university protest, which began in the arts faculty there.

A "south wind" they have called it, as opposed to the "north wind" of 1968, a movement richer in ideological content, less beset with practical obstacles and nourished with the dogmas of communism. At Palermo they say that the new arts graduates are no longer leaving; all the jobs are taken and the student today prepares himself for unemployment. When such is the case, both those who are working and the trade unions become enemies.

At Naples the unemployed have organized themselves as an independent force. Both genuine and "temporary" students conduct their debates in the university—the sons of the middle classes and the working-class lads united in anger for a moment of solidarity. Signor Mimmo Pinto, a member of the Proletarian Democrats, a group to the left of the Italian Communist Party, says: "We don't need state charity: we have to find real jobs, clear up the city, beat speculation."

Signor Pinto is the only member of Parliament elected from the ranks of the unemployed. Before becoming a Deputy he organized demonstrations in the suburbs and marches in the city. He once blocked a road with a group of women and children, in order to convince the local authority to open a beach. The sea at Naples is polluted, but "so many children can't go away on holiday: what shall we do with them?"

In Rome, capital of youthful protest and theatre of violence, there were, to begin with, poignant memories of 1968, anarchical nostalgia. A big banner proclaimed: "Let us face facts, we are asking for the impossible." There was also some hope in the slogan of the "Metropolitan Indians": "Irony is revolutionary." It seemed an even more subtle motto than the much abused: "Show imagination in power."

The Metropolitan Indians are a tribe of young people from the suburbs, who declared war on the "Palefantes", the representatives of power and party. They say, or said, they wanted to "reconquer their lost land" and did not wish to live in reservations. They put war-paint on their faces, though they gave this up after a fashion magazine copied their style of make-up.

The Indians' irony lies in the way they twist provocatively, the trade unions' demands. They go around shouting "Less pay, more sacrifices."

As we know, the purely verbal violence of the Indians did not spark off any round of self-criticism among the politicians (since the burden of the economic situation is too heavy). Instead, it was crushed and stifled by the fringe extremists of the movement, the teardrains whose idol is the P38 automatic, the youths who salute, not with a clenched fist, but with the hand shaped to look like a pistol.

No one can say that the student movement and the young unemployed have not been infiltrated with agents provocateurs, but if there is incitement of this kind, the seeds of violence often fall on ground that is ready for sowing.

In Rome, after Signor Lama was thrown out of the university in a manner, as he put it, "reminiscent of the fascist strong-arm action squads", the police were fired on with pistols while clearing the occupied faculties. One

policeman was killed, another seriously wounded. And this time the police had not opened fire.

Of course, anyone who visits the outskirts of Rome—the suburbs with their very high rents but no social services, the shanty towns—can understand what violence may be hidden around the great city. For young people without work, with nowhere to meet and discuss things, the university has become an ideal rallying place, a free city in miniature, in which the noblest of intentions and the most violent of impulses have come together.

According to Professor Asor Rosa, of Rome University, there are two societies—the employed and the unemployed—which are institutional enemies. According to Professor Renzo De Felice, an authority on fascism, the university is nothing more than an arena, within which the politicians want to keep the violence enclosed. If the unemployed gather in the university, so much the better: you know where they are.

But Professor De Felice denies that the Italian situation is similar to that of 1920 to 1922, which brought fascism to power. However, as one journalist observed, the readiness for action, the contempt for politics, the idea that the world can be changed by an act of will—these are elements typical of the culture which produced fascism, even against the wishes and interests of those who brought it to power.

If we wish our view to be objective we must not forget that, as well as the so-called independent minority which guides the youth revolt, there is a majority still trying to find an unfulfilled space in the working world, or still striving, within the framework of the traditional parties, to create such spaces.

These are young people who shrink from violence because they do not see any future in it, but who certainly suffer just as much frustration and pain as their companions. This characteristic of Italian youth is very clearly evident at Bologna, a city that has collected together the most advanced and lucid members of the protest movement, and has seen a student killed by the Carabinieri during a demonstration.

The workers say: "They want to destabilize Bologna because it is a city run by the left, because it constitutes an invitation to the historic compromise between Christian Democrats and the Italian Communist Party." To which the students reply: "No place is privileged: the economic crisis will also affect Bologna."

Stefano Reggiani

Time to pay up

Helmut Raether talks to Mr Henk Vredeling, the EEC Social Fund Affairs Commissioner. His first question is: what can the Commission do?

Unemployment among young people is only a part of the problem, but a serious part: the general unemployment figure for the Community is about 5 per cent, but almost 10 per cent of young people under 25 are out of work. We must face the fact that more and more young people have been out of work for six or even over 12 months.

This is much more serious than the gap of up to three months which often occurs between leaving school and starting work. We can help with support for national policies from the EEC Social Fund. It would be quite wrong to suppose that some new idea should suddenly emerge from Brussels—our horizons are determined by national ideas.

You could be involved in programmes to help unemployed young people to the extent of DM629m this year—when for instance the farm policy alone will cost about DM24,000m. Do you think a large increase in the Social Fund is necessary and would help?

Of course I do. The rules governing the Social Fund were drawn up in 1971, at a time of full employment—now we are faced by massive unemployment. The seriousness of the situation must be reflected in the budget, as up to now the Social Fund has not lived up to its title.

I do not believe that they can keep on referring to unemployment as the number one problem at council and summit meetings without drawing the conclusions about finance required. We are always being exhorted to make a real contribution, and of course we come up with proposals which cost money. It is time that the heads of government and the finance ministers got together properly on this.

You and your experts have been putting increasing emphasis recently on the need for priority for policy measures which affect the medium-term outlook. Does that mean that there is no hope in the short term for the young people who are packing the employment exchanges?

No, it does not mean that at all. Fortunately there are still many young people who have been out of work only for a short time. But there is a very serious situation which cannot be cured overnight in the genuine shortage of vacancies, and this can be solved only by long-term measures. For example, there is a programme in England to prepare young people

better for work. But if we wanted to introduce that for 100,000 young people in the whole Community we would need at least DM700m. And the richer Community countries would have to shoulder more of the burden than the poorer ones.

Are there other, cheaper, approaches? Yes, we have to look at unorthodox methods too. In particular raising the school-leaving age—which you hear a lot about—would make the figures look better. We need new ideas, pilot schemes, at the local level too—after all, when it comes down to it, these unemployed youngsters are not in Brussels. For example, one might consider creating vacancies in the public social services, for the older unemployed as well.

Unemployment costs the Community DM40,000m a year: if we can reduce the size of the problem by half, that would release another DM20,000m, although not immediately.

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Tourist picture

Table 1: Costs for a 1st class weekend £s

	Total	Hotel	Meals	Entertainment	Transport
Hamburg	310	100	120	60	30
Paris	275	125	85	40	25
London	215	110	65	20	20
Rome	180	80	40	30	30
Average	245	104	78	38	26

Table 2: Costs for an economy weekend £s

	Total	Hotel	Meals	Entertainment	Transport
Hamburg	140	40	70	15	15
Paris	85	30	35	10	10
London	70	30	30	5	5
Rome	85	20	25	10	10
Average	90	30	40	10	10

Table 3: What is included in the costs (1)

Description	1st Class	Economy
Hotel	Double room and breakfast for 2 nights, service and taxes	Luxury hotel with bath
Meals	For two with wine and coffee including service: table d'hôte in hotel	Luxury hotel with bath
	"Gastronomic" dinner	1st class
	Light lunch, egg salad and cheese	1st class
	Lunch in a country restaurant	1st class
Entertainment	For 2: Theatre/opera	Best seats
	Night club entrance and 1 drink	1st class
	Museum admission	—
	Admission to out of town site	—
Travel	Five 2km journeys	Taxi
	Two 20 km journeys	Taxi
	Half day sightseeing tour	Best coach

(1) Prices are based on data from national tourist boards but adjusted to maintain comparability.

(2) Including carnets or all-day tickets where appropriate.

cheapest overall, both because of this and because of its reasonably priced hotels.

Public transport in Rome is very cheap, but transport costs overall come out higher than in London because sightseeing is quite dear. In terms of price, perhaps the most remarkable thing about Paris is that, in spite of all its romantic associations, the city comes out as being close to the average on almost every count.

James Rothman

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BRUSSELS BACKSTAGE

Morale at low ebb

Nothing much happened in Brussels in May. The Community, having got over the ersatz agitation that accompanies the fixing of farm prices, relapsed into somnolence. Two dates, two weekends, stand out in last month's calendar: the economic summit meeting in London on May 7 and 8, at which the Community as such was pretty well ignored and certainly did not play a prominent role, and then the weekend of May 20 and 21 over which the Nine began to formulate a common doctrine on enlargement.

The Commission for its part continues to give the impression of working and thinking in slow motion, of not yet having found a satisfactory cruising speed. After five months, the Brussels engine is apparently still not firing on all cylinders.

The effects of this malfunction can be felt within the Commission: the atmosphere in the Berlaymont building has rarely been worse. Most of the staff are exasperated with the round of administrative reforms, the purpose of which is not obvious, and, worst of all, which seem to be going on for ever.

Entire directorates-general are spending their working days with their eyes glued to the establishment plan, torn between the delights of intrigue and the anguish of insecurity; the one thing that is certain is that the level of morale is not conducive to efficient performance.

What accounts for this unquestionably unhealthy situation? Mr Jenkins, the President, must bear his share of responsibility. Having arrived in Brussels with partly inaccurate ideas about what the Community and the Commission actually are, he has not yet found an effective working style. He is apparently still more concerned with politicking than with making the system work, motivating his colleagues and their staff and attacking the issues of the day.

But it is not by concentrating his energies on each and every turn of such conflicts that Mr Jenkins can best establish his credentials. This difficulty over accepting that the President of the Commission, to be successful, also needs to be an acute technocrat is of course not the only factor underlying the excessive length of this running-in period.

A few exceptions apart, the Commissioners do not seem to have built up many affinities. Things could have gone more quickly and discussions could have proceeded on a clearer footing if the members of the Commission had been divided into two or three political or ideological camps.

This is not the case. The distribution of portfolios, as organized when

the Commission took office, is so artificial and loaded with potential conflicts that it does not make for a well-knit team.

Signor Gioletti's position illustrates this point: is there any chance that the task entrusted to him—coordinating financial instruments—will be defined in concrete terms to his colleagues and his own satisfaction? There is no lack of other prime examples, for instance the state of confusion in the organization of relations between the Commission and the European Parliament, or indeed between the Commission and the two sides of industry.

The picture is not, however, entirely black, and May was not a completely wasted month. Although the Commission's activities are restricted to administration for the time being, there are areas in which it is working efficiently. One example of this is industrial policy, where M Davignon gives the impression of being on top of his job.

The coherence and businesslike approach to the launching of the second crisis programme for the steel industry augurs well. A plan for the reorganization of shipyards should be out soon. Mr Jenkins for his part is gradually pressing forward with his scheme for increasing the Commission's borrowing capacity to enable it to participate in an active policy of direct investment.

This initiative, coupled with reform of the procedures for intervention by the regional fund and the social fund, is certainly of interest at a time when it is generally accepted that one of the priority objectives of the authorities in our countries must be the campaign against unemployment.

The "informal" meeting at Leeds Castle may also be regarded as a healthy development. The position outlined at the time by Mr Jenkins on the problems involved in the possible enlargement of the EEC was an astute synthesis of the often contradictory feelings of the member governments that laid down a line of conduct which is apparently acceptable to the Nine.

The Commission should draw encouragement from this and hasten the finalization of its proposals for the preconditions which the member governments seem to have decided are necessary before enlargement: reform of the rules applicable to the Mediterranean agricultural countries, and, perhaps most important of all, reorganization of the institutions.

In the case of the latter, much is at stake for the Commission. If it does not get its proposals right, if it loses the initiative, there is every likelihood that it will suffer the consequences.

Philippe Lemaître

Return to the regions gives the individual a chance

Europe is a bore. Why? Because for years it has been chasing its tail, preoccupied with its butter, its sugar, its wheat prices, its wine, its member states' obsessive vigilance against possible encroachments upon their rights by their fellow members, and because it occupies itself in generating vast quantities of paper which contribute not a whit to the construction of the Community edifice.

The imbalances are becoming more pronounced. West Germany's annual rate of inflation is moving towards 3 per cent, Italy's towards 20 per cent. The range of growth rates is growing wider, from a projected 4 per cent in 1977 for West Germany to 0 per cent for Italy. The combined balance of payments surplus of West Germany and Benelux is likely to be about \$7,500m, while the five other countries promise to show a deficit in excess of \$7,000m. With unemployment, the projected average for West Germany is 950,000 against 1,500,000 for Britain.

What do the citizens of what is becoming such an ill-assorted union think of the relationship between so many fine speeches and the realities of a disjointed Community? Certainly that there is something rotten in the state of Europe.

The Old World was to have played the role of honest broker between the big two, having 30 years ago wearied of the charms of power-seeking. But, things being as they are, one should hardly be surprised if it finds no lines to speak or hesitates to take any initiative until the United States has stated its position.

Since it is clearly incapable, for the time being at least, of taking its place in the international policy-making centres which count, would it be too much to expect Europe to give back a little more human warmth to its peoples, to teach them to communicate more effectively, take a collective interest in the issues of greatest concern to them in their daily lives?

Many of the supporters of direct election to the European Parliament by universal suffrage believe that they provide a fine opportunity for lending colour to Europe and releasing it from its technocratic matrix. Why? Simply because the electoral campaign will be played out, not at the level of a supra-national abstraction, not on the functionaries' stamping ground in Brussels, but in the living regions of the Old World.

This development is consistent with today's trend in favour of decentralization of decision-making and a return to the regions which have been forced into the background by the industrial civilization.

The individual, like Europe, is looking for his identity in the labyrinth of functions which the division of labour,

the compartmentalization of life, and urban constraints, have eventually imposed upon him.

Today, coherence is only to be found in organization, that is in bureaucracy. "I seek a man", said Diogenes, holding aloft a lighted lantern in broad daylight. Today's Diogenes seeks the "European citizen" but with no more success.

The strength of the ecologists' and regionalists' movements lies in their rebellion against the technocratic homogenization of individuals. The aim must be to channel these new currents, rather than allow them to degenerate into folklore fads, or develop into irresistible and unacceptable centrifugal forces. Could not the European Parliament offer a platform for the expression of the regional cultures which have received scant support from our nations hitherto?

In a report, *The Regions and Europe*, commissioned by the European Community, Signor Riccardo Petrella asks whether it would not be possible to arrange the European landscape on a new basis by rejecting the concept of the centralized super-nation while developing existing creative potentialities on the basis of basic social structures.

Regional identification, taking the form of the assertion of the right to be different, has been a recurrent theme in Europe's cultural history. As Signor Petrella observes, it has been a guiding force in the development of European societies, counterbalancing the other major force in the history of the continent: the pressure for unification from the centre (social groups, political parties, economic forces, systems of values). The nation-state is not the be-all and end-all of the historical reality of Europe, nor is it the only important cultural dimension.

Is the rediscovery of the regional dimension compatible with the process of European unification? It is cer-

tainly true that the regions today are not what they were before the Second World War. To the Sardinians, Calabrians, Corsicans and so on, the Europe which they knew has now become the Europe of migration. To a lesser extent, the same applies to the Scots, Welsh, Bretons and Alsacians who have been drawn by economic development towards their national centres or farther afield, to other countries.

If European integration continued to develop along the lines of recent years, Europe would sooner or later find itself in open conflict with the most disadvantaged regions, which would become pockets of active resistance. Opinion is already divided: for groups of citizens in Brittany, Scotland, Sardinia or South-west France, Europe is a rather negative factor; whereas the prevailing view in the Italian Mezzogiorno, which has benefited from European integration, is diametrically opposed.

One of Europe's essential tasks is to avoid the break-up of the Community's territory between opposing regions, which means that it must create the conditions under which the main regional claims can be met. For years there has been talk of economic regional development in Europe and the lagging-over the appropriation of funds for this purpose has not been forgotten.

Alas, the cultural dimension has been neglected and Signor Petrella's report has the merit of drawing attention to it, making concrete suggestions for lines of research.

Man needs roots just as much as he needs mobility, hence the need for a plurality of allegiances, a society in the plural in which all sectors of society can participate at the different levels, with equality of opportunity and mutual respect in the continuing task of creating the civitas, with the regions looking to Europe to devise the machinery whereby they will soon be able to make an active contribution to the building of the Community.

Mr Leo Tindemans, the Belgian Prime Minister, was right when he said in a recent interview: "Man identifies not so much with the wider community as with the small group, which perhaps accounts for regionalization. People need to feel at home in a society which does not obliterate the individual, human personality."

The Community must acquire a means of gaining a more intimate knowledge of the European citizen in terms of his regional identity. It should draw up a register of public and private centres and institutes concerned with the study and promotion of regional cultures and languages, go on to promote inter-regional contact, European holiday courses on various aspects of regional policy and so on.

Perhaps one of the best chapters the Tindemans report on the European union is "A citizen's Europe". "I day that Europeans can move about within the union, can communicate among themselves and when necessary receive medical care without national frontiers adding to the problems distance, European union will be for them a discernible reality."

A discernible reality: this is the vitality of the European idea. One must entertain no delusions about the difficulty of the venture, even the Parliament elected by universal suffrage comes into being. Indecorously enough, Europe is attractive more and more other states, despite the drab aspect of its bureaucratic uniformity.

And when the Nine have been joined by Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey, will not the motley of regions prevail over the oppress force of centralization? At the same time, for those responsible for administration of such an ill-assorted entity, there will be a strong temptation to concentrate on the Community machinery and forget the European citizen.

Pierre Drou

SAINTS AND SINNERS

Emanuele Gazzo: censure and harangue

Agence Europe, which has been run since its inception by Emanuele Gazzo, five years older than the Treaty of Rome, came into being at the end of 1952 at the same time as the European Coal and Steel Community.

Since then *Agence Europe*, broadsheet which daily runs to about 15 pages printed on blue paper with no frills and no wasted space, has chronicled Community current affairs in minute detail.

It now appears in three languages: French, English and Italian (the German edition has been suspended temporarily). Multilingual publication is no doubt largely a matter of circulation figures but, in the eyes of the managing editor, it is also a means of denationalizing news and making it more European in character. The paper's circulation is not disclosed,

but it is thought to exceed 2,500 copies, which is regarded in press circles as a remarkable achievement for such a "heavy" publication.

The influence exerted by *Agence Europe* lies largely in the mass of information assembled daily by a handful of first-class journalists, which is devoured by business leaders, civil servants and politicians, but it also rests on Emanuele Gazzo's editorials, which appear four times a week. He rarely settles for mere analysis, but keeps up an unrelenting flow of censure, proselytism and harangue.

Emanuele Gazzo knew Jean Monnet well and still meets him frequently. His convictions, very much in line with those of the first president of the ECSC, have not altered. He wants to see strong European institutions vested with important powers. True to

character, he is voicing total contempt to the cause of elections to European Parliament by universal suffrage.

The attitudes to Europe shared by many people in France on the left right alike—the distrust of supranational institutions, the preoccupation with independence from the UN States, the priority attached to policies—make his headless rise because he sees them as so many unnecessary obstacles on the path to a fed Europe. Nothing is more alien to than Gaullist thinking and, since proclaims this indiscreetly and sometimes in uncompromising terms relations with France's representatives in Brussels have been some strained from time to time.

Philippe Lem

Michel Debré: living in an honourable past

M Michel Debré, who was General de Gaulle's first Prime Minister, is an honourable man with an honourable past—in which he sometimes appears still to be living. Periodically he gives us glimpses of this antique world, in which *la gloire* still burns as fiercely as the midday sun in a distant imperial sky.

Thus in January, when announcing the creation of a "committee for the independence and unity of France", he said: "We are Europeans, but the first contribution we can make to the power and grandeur of Europe is the power and grandeur of France."

He appears to believe that this grandeur is dangerously threatened by the plan for direct elections to the European Parliament, which he described as an intolerable attack on the independence of the republic.

Now M Debré is threatening to vote against the necessary enabling legislation in the Assembly. He wants the Nine to sign an additional protocol to the Treaty of Rome strictly limiting the European Parliament's competences and subordinating its activities to the Council of Ministers of the EEC.

M Debré's tender concern for France's sovereignty is understandable. He probably did more than any one else to organize the return of General de Gaulle as France's redeemer; and it was he who, as Minister of Justice when de Gaulle became President in June 1958, drafted the new constitution in his master's image. He therefore played a significant role in the rehabilitation of France, and may be expected to

fight vigorously against any three France's integrity.

But a man of his intelligence is expected to identify these things with greater accuracy. Most European democracies face real dangers from interference with supplies of raw materials, notably from protectionism among their ing partners; from social unrest, political polarization; and, to a extent, from international terrorism. Drastic shifts are taking place in world's economic order.

To launch a crusade against elections "à la Gaule" when the European solidarity which even M favours is under severe strain, relevant, and rather sad implications.

Roger Bert

Duty-bound no more

On July 1 the customs barriers come down. This will be an historic date for the economic future of the nine countries of the European Community, and for the seven European Free Trade Association (Efta) countries.

From July 1 goods will be able to move between the 16 countries almost free from customs duty.

After a transition period of more than four years, the fifth and final reduction will be made in customs duty between the six EEC founder countries and the three countries that joined in 1973, Britain, Eire and Denmark. Duty will be zero. There will then be no internal tariff within the nine Community countries, just as had previously been the case for the six founder countries. This means that goods can move freely within the Community.

Duty on goods from other countries will also be uniform. Apart from this harmonization, the national purchase taxes, other import charges and VAT will be the same irrespective of whether the goods come from EEC countries or others.

Exceptions have their place even in international commercial law: it is accordingly not surprising that the previous zero tariff on internal trade had an exception. Duty on horticultural products will only be finally reduced to zero on January 1, 1978, at the stage of complete liberalization of intra-Community trade. The same is true for the Community common tariff for non-Community countries,

which will be adopted from July 1 by Britain, Eire and Denmark. Here too harmonization will only be reached for horticultural products on January 1, 1978.

July 1, 1977, will also be an historic day for trade between the nine Community members and the seven Efta members. The plan for general tariff reductions—which was part of the free trade agreement between the European Community, and the seven Efta countries left after the entry into the Community of Britain, Eire and Denmark—led to the reduction on July 1, 1976, to 20 per cent of the original level of tariffs between the Community and Efta countries.

On July 1 the tariff for the seven Efta countries, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway, Portugal, Finland, Austria and Sweden, will be further reduced by 20 per cent of the starting level. This reduces the tariff to zero, leaving trade between Efta and the Community free of duty. With this step all tariff walls are removed on goods involved in visible trade—these are set out in detail in the European Community Tariff headings 25 to 99. To some extent this liberalization also applies to agricultural products, ever a bone of contention.

On July 1 Europe comes a step nearer to the goal of Rome, where the treaty setting up the European Economic Community was signed on March 25, 1957. Article 9 of the treaty set out as a basic condition of the Community a customs union which would cover all trade.

But the Community has some to go before reaching this point. Zero tariff on intra-trade and no tariff on external trade may encourage movement of goods they constitute a customs union, not the projected one. The provisions of the treaty on customs require Community to reconcile statute regulations, relating to customs long as these remain unhampered there will always be illegal movements of goods to disrupt community inside the 16-country free trade.

The business associations of countries involved are accordingly pressing for an early agreement on tariff laws, which should be as simple as possible to apply, and will eradicate illegal competitive national administrations of countries discovered long ago tariff harmonization is not the thing as simplification of bureaucratic procedures. The main feature harmonization of customs stands the eyes of the administrator should be that it is easy to implement. Fiscal considerations will be considerable part here.

It is a pertinent question: Efta can survive after the harmonization. But the ministers of the seven countries already stated that, even after come what may, they propose together in the club of mid-

Hans Bai

Many of our regionally established clients, particularly in the travel, financial and industrial fields, felt the need for an intra-regional medium capable of high-frequency reach to such an influential audience. We had monthly journals, weekly newsmags, but no daily. The Asian Journal is now becoming an automatic choice. It's informative, authoritative, and immediate. Editorially, there's

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Even the baseballers watch Featherstone

By Alan Gibson

LORD'S: Sussex, with all second

innings, mowers in hand, are 146

runs behind Middlesex.

Welcomed to the Jubilee

Monday high speed train, 125 miles

an hour, to London, said the

announcer. He said that it was

not a coincidence that the train

had been cancelled, nor that his

high speed train would reach

London in a longer time than

most of the old slow speed trains.

He listed the places at which we

should pause, five of them, six

if you call Slough a place, and

explained that in honour of the

Jubilee there would be no refreshment

facilities in the train. But

everybody got a smile on their

face today, he said.

Later, thirty, unfed and observ-

ing the clouds sweeping down

from the west, I could not

manage to move more than a feeble

grin. Still, I arrived at Lord's in

the early afternoon in a large

family of Americans whom I

encountered and who were under

the impression that they were

going to see the Jubilee Test

match.

I tried, unsuccessfully, to per-

suade them that their travel agents

had got it wrong.

There should be no doubt that

no body at Lord's, except a few

members of the press, had any

idea of the match. The few

who did, however, were the

only ones who had any idea of

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ACROSS

1 Dora's protégé (5).
 2 Where the seed might get lost on grass? (9).
 3 Bird as paying guest, Murdoch sort (9).
 10 Intends to support us? (5).
 11 He leaves the brooks with sounds of bird-song (6).
 12 Takes great pains about border plant (8).
 14 Scoundrel's look-out for Drummmond's gang (10).
 16 Compact city house - perogues (4).
 19 Their meeting indicates a successful economy (4).
 20 Look for a soft return with the new cane (10).
 21 Stinger gives Robin tea in resort (6).
 22 Hood is aboard—looks angry (6).
 23 Fish connected with the salt? (5).
 24 Native put dash of French in poor cider (9).
 25 Meets anti-reformer in café (9).
 29 A drop in the bar? (5).

DOWN

1 Respected members of Peru around (9).
 2 Victim-maker appears soon after midnight (5).
 3 White slave brings mute formation into force (8).
 4 Carry on working for it (4).
 5 Household tries decapitation at lots of animals (10).

6 Clear view of one member in a hat (6).
 7 Very severe on Scot, following overdrift (9).
 8 Unpleasant erection of an eyeglass (5).
 13 Point to American retirement pay hold-up (10).
 15 Article on the German master race written in Swiss resort (9).
 17 Revolver the main danger in Poe's tale? (9).
 18 Announce the player's demand? (8).
 21 Replacement of Master Morgan's flasher (6).
 22 Note on business raised in Switzerland (5).
 24 The god of poetry, in certain quarters (5).
 25 Experienced hat-maker? (4).

Solution of Puzzle No 14,620

Phone never stopped ringing!

LOOKING FOR ENGLISH
 Uri, to look after English. French speaking. 30 years old. From mid-June to mid-September. Part-time. Living as family. Salary negotiable. Please evenings.

This delighted advertiser booked her ad. on our successful series plan (4 days + 5th day free) but found she had to cancel after only 2 days as the phone never stopped ringing! All the replies were from suitable people, and she is now certain of finding someone to fill the position. If this is the kind of success you are looking for

Ring
01-837 3311
 The Times could help you.

Phone never stopped ringing!

TRAVEL WORLDWIDE
 especially sunny Mediterranean and Aegean. 2nd class. 1st class. 3rd class. 4th class. 5th class. 6th class. 7th class. 8th class. 9th class. 10th class. 11th class. 12th class. 13th class. 14th class. 15th class. 16th class. 17th class. 18th class. 19th class. 20th class. 21st class. 22nd class. 23rd class. 24th class. 25th class. 26th class. 27th class. 28th class. 29th class. 30th class. 31st class. 32nd class. 33rd class. 34th class. 35th class. 36th class. 37th class. 38th class. 39th class. 40th class. 41st class. 42nd class. 43rd class. 44th class. 45th class. 46th class. 47th class. 48th class. 49th class. 50th class. 51st class. 52nd class. 53rd class. 54th class. 55th class. 56th class. 57th class. 58th class. 59th class. 60th class. 61st class. 62nd class. 63rd class. 64th class. 65th class. 66th class. 67th class. 68th class. 69th class. 70th class. 71st class. 72nd class. 73rd class. 74th class. 75th class. 76th class. 77th class. 78th class. 79th class. 80th class. 81st 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